A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

...e "Yurchenko affair" again

# NEW TIMES

## REASONABLE SUFFICIENCY AS WE SEE IT

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CHINA: A DEMOGRAPHIC PENDULUM

1917–1987

# TIME AND PEOPLE

The nazis had the advantage of a surprise attack and superior armaments. But in the bloody defensive action, private soldiers, officers and generals gained experience and learned to strike back.

The war promptly brought the most talented generals to prominence. Konstantin Rokossovsky distinguished himself in the early days of the war, the Battle of Moscow and the subsequent counteroffensive. It was not by chance that in just nine months (exclusive of the time he spent in hospital being treated for a wound) Rokossovsky rose all the way from a corps commander to a front commander.

"As I recall the landmarks in my life," Marshal Zhukov wrote in his reminiscences, "I single out the most important one which is our common point of departure. The Revolution! It gave everyone a chance to try his powers, fulfil himself, and feel part of the nation's creative potential. And when it came to defending this chief of our achievements, we knew what we were fighting for."

**Marshal Georgi Zhukov at the First Army of the Guards' observation point. ● Konstantin Rokossovsky, commander of the 16th Army. ● Marshal Alexander Vasilevsky, commander of the Third Byelorussian Front, and Army General Ivan Bagramyan, his second in command, finalizing the plan for the taking of Königsberg by storm. ● Ivan Konev, commander of the Kalinin Front.**

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

# NEW TIMES

40

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CONTENTS

2
Editorial
**UNITED NATIONS**

3
**U.S.A.**
Gennady Gerasimov. **FIRST STEP, NEXT STEP**

4
**Britain**
Denis Healey. **COMPENSATION FOR MISSILE SCRAPPING?**

6
**1917-1987: The October Revolution and the world**
**THE LAND OF ANGKOR AWAKENS TO NEW LIFE**
**Interview of General Secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Heng Samrin**

7
**Panorama**

11
**Finland**
Alexander Polyukhov. **A VISIT TO THE PRESIDENT**

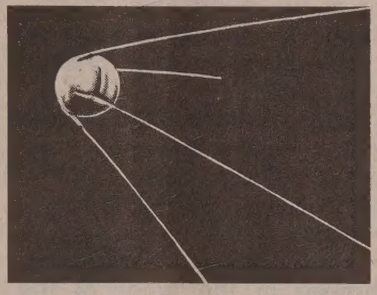
13
**Mankind and the future**
Vitaly Zhurkin, Sergei Karaganov, Andrei Kortunov.
**REASONABLE SUFFICIENCY**

16
**Readers' forum. Comment**

18
**The past and the present**
Valentin Falin. **WHY IN 1939?**

**The Saimaa Canal has long been providing a channel of communication between Finland and the U.S.S.R.**

**Nicaragua: the difficult road to peace.**



**The first Soviet artificial earth satellite.**

20
**Central America**
Sergei Gorbunov. **PEACE PIPE OR WAR PATH!**

22
**Reflections**
Anatoly Butenko. **ARE THERE LIMITS TO GLASNOST?**

24
**Space**
Vasily Mishin. **THE FIRST SPUTNIK**

26
**Hungary**
Ferenc Varnai. **TIME FOR RESOLUTE MEASURES**

27
**China**
Mikhail Yakovlev. **A DEMOGRAPHIC PENDULUM**

29
**Human rights**
Igor Vasilyev. **"THE REPORT OF MY DEATH WAS AN EXAGGERATION"**
**Conversation with Vitaly Yurchenko on CIA methods**

31
**Chess**
Leonid Abalkin. **IN MEMORY OF THE GRAND MASTER**
Vladimir Benyukh. **ON TOUR IN WEST AFRICA**

32
**Art**
Anna Smirnova. **THE PAIN OF RECOGNITION**

Cover by A. Arkhutik

## 3—5

**As soon as Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz reached an agreement in principle on scrapping nuclear medium- and shorter-range missiles, Washington and some other NATO capitals said they accepted it - but with certain reservations. What kind of reservations? Is any "compensation" needed for the dismantling of the two classes of nuclear weapons?**

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## FROM OUR MAILBAG

**War is the greatest enemy of progress and happiness, it reduces commodity turnover and disrupts cultural links among nations. There is an increasing conviction that differences among nations may be settled in some other way. We must make every effort to destroy all kinds of weapons which bring sorrow and misfortunes. I am sure people in many countries have arrived at this conclusion already.**

**ISAO ASHIBA**
Tokyo, Japan

**In order to speed up the process of perestroika in your country, you ought to provide more information on how it is going, on the problems and tasks facing you, and on the ways in which you deal with these problems. Therefore, I would very much like the articles and reports on the present state of affairs in the Soviet economy to be more detailed and to keep the reader up to date.**

**JOSE LUIS DE LA MAZA**
Sestao, Spain

**I was so happy to see the emblem of the Moscow World Women's Congress on the cover of your magazine [No. 25, 1987] that I began to leaf through it at once, eager to learn as much as possible about that outstanding event, a new landmark in the history of the progressive women's movement. I was in for bitter disappointment - the issue carried not a single item on the Congress. I think you made a mistake in reproducing its emblem on the front cover of one issue, and reporting on the event in the next one. What's the idea!**

**ILSE LANGGUTH**
Berlin, G.D.R.

## EDITORIAL

# United Nations

Contemporary mankind is made up of nations united by a common destiny and unity of purpose. This is at once simple and not so simple, as one can never tell what predominates in real life - unity or disunity.

We have stockpiled enough nuclear weapons to make our own continued existence problematic. We begin to see the light only when nuclear confrontation reaches a critical point. It is only our distant descendants who - provided our collective wisdom makes it possible to be born - will inherit in full measure the changes the human consciousness is undergoing in the last decades of the 20th century. The way out of the blind alley of self-destruction clearly lies in building up, by joint effort, an all-embracing security system.

This follows from the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly now in progress in New York, and the Soviet and American representatives' speeches at it.

The results of the Washington talks showed in the tenor of the speeches: The agreement (on medium- and shorter-range missiles -**Ed.**) is the least of what has happened. The Soviet Union and the United States have pronounced together, at last, the first word of the non-nuclear vocabulary (Eduard Shevardnadze). Our differences still persist and probably always will. However, this imposes on us a special duty to cast about for realistic ways of imparting greater stability to our competition and to hold up to the world an example of how constructive cooperation can bring peaceful solutions to political problems (Ronald Reagan).

Both speakers dwelt on the increasing importance of the United Nations.

Otherwise, however, their speeches had little in common.

Eduard Shevardnadze's speech was an invitation to put our heads together, and cooperate. He suggested a policy of action, a draft for a discussion in which all members of the world community can and must participate on an equal footing. Reagan's speech, on the other hand, was a dressing down by a cantankerous uncle who does not like others to use any criteria but his own.

The Soviet Minister suggested a security equation consisting of four components: military-political, economic, ecological and humanitarian. The U.S. President substituted his SDI for the non-nuclear denominator indispensable to this equation. The Soviet Minister noted the leading role the U.N. has to play in settling regional conflicts. The U.S. President insisted on his right to lynch any country at his own discretion.

Let us not concentrate on the differences, however. In our opinion, it is more important to clarify whether or not the sides are really trying to revise some of their past attitudes, and work out new approaches to the problems facing mankind. It looks as if they are. Both of them. Only in the Soviet Union this process is going faster and more smoothly. Glasnost, openness and dialogue, which are integral to the U.S.S.R.'s internal perestroika, are affecting its foreign policy as well.

The discussions at the session do more than merely reveal their participants' different - sometimes even conflicting - opinions. We are learning to listen to, and understand, each other. We are trying to do away with rhetoric, which was such a hindrance in the past, and rise above narrow national interests for the sake of those of the whole of humanity. For the human community is made up of nations united by common destiny and unity of purpose.

# FIRST STEP, NEXT STEP

## Debate in the United States on possible arms reduction agreements

GENNADY GERASIMOV

On September 26 The New York Times published a picture of seven smiling men. They were seven former defence secretaries of the United States, who had met in Atlanta to compare their views on military matters today. They differed on how the U.S. should behave in the Persian Gulf, but were unanimous in assessing the future Soviet-American agreement on eliminating medium-range and shorter-range missiles. The seven pronounced themselves in favour: Robert McNamara, Donald Rumsfeld, Melvin Laird, Clark Clifford, James Schlesinger, Harold Brown, and Elliot Richardson.

I began by mentioning the defence secretaries because they are experts in the field. Another competent American, U.S. Vice-President George Bush, said that all parents and schoolchildren in America were in favour of the treaty. Opinion polls have revealed that two thirds of Americans are for the agreement.

Almost all of the impressive succession of speakers at the current 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York have welcomed the forthcoming Soviet-American agreement to eliminate two classes of nuclear missiles. On the first day of the debates, Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone hailed it as "good news."

The agreement was also backed by Icelandic Foreign Minister Steingrimur Hermannsson, who recalled that a year ago Iceland was the venue for the meeting between the leaders of the two superpowers, and expressed the hope that the elimination of medium-range missiles "will be followed by future and larger steps in the elimination of nuclear weapons."

To be sure, some people in the United States still oppose the possible agreement. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger thinks there are no grounds for rejoicing. "We should keep in mind that it has raised a lot of enormous problems," he said.

Kissinger, like former President Richard Nixon or former presidential national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, claims that the elimination of nuclear missiles would increase the risk of a conventional war in Europe. Conservative ideologist Norman Podhoretz calls the agreement "an obvious trap."

To prove their point, all of them cite the alleged conventional superiority of the Warsaw Treaty over NATO in Europe. Then why not try and eliminate the possible asymmetries of the two sides and reduce conventional weapons, as the Warsaw Treaty countries are proposing?

Even if we leave aside the debatable assertion about "superiority," NATO will still have enough nuclear weapons, both U.S. air- and submarine-based and British weapons. NATO can also count on the French weapons.

In any case, those who argue along these lines propose to increase military spending as a result of nuclear disarmament to compensate for the scrapped nuclear missiles. So, in the opinion of The New York Times, financial experts "do not expect the arms companies to suffer after the two sides sign the new intermediate nuclear forces treaty."

The Pentagon has already used up the 9 billion dollars earmarked to buy Pershings from Martin-Marietta and land-based cruise missiles from General Dynamics. It will now seek more appropriations for more tanks, guns and planes for a "denuded" Western Europe, to be bought from Martin-Marietta, the leading producer of sophisticated conventional weaponry. Compensation for the 9 billion dollars spent on the missiles to be scrapped would come to 25 billion dollars. Moreover, "there will be a burst of spending on novel ways to fight conventional wars."

This analysis, of course, does not rule out alternative political solutions in this field aimed at lowering the level of military confrontation, but it reveals the kind of thinking that prevails in the American military-industrial complex.

Meanwhile, the two sides do not see the possible agreement as valuable only - or largely - in itself, but as a first step towards further nuclear diarmament measures - a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons.

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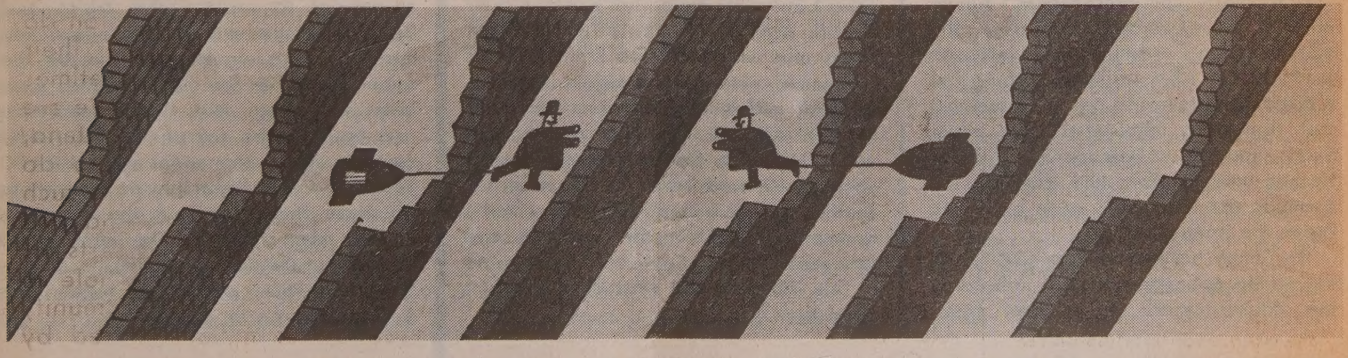
From Time magazine



It is noteworthy that hardly anyone has spoken explicitly against this drastic step. It is clear that there is an overkill of nuclear weapons. The opponents of the proposed agreement invoke SDI to bolster their positions. While they agree to cuts, they refuse to admit the need to curtail "star wars" plans, although without such a curtailment the military balance will be threatened. Robert McNamara has said that "there exists radical incompatibility between arms control agreements and President Reagan's dream of a strategic defence system...It is possible to reach good agreements or possible to insist on the 'star wars' programme as its stands, but wholly impossible to do both."

There has recently been a change on the SDI front.

But first let us look at interpretations.

On October 6, 1985, Robert McFarlane, then assistant to the President for national security affairs, let slip during a television chat show that for 13 years the ABM treaty had been misinterpreted and that it sets no limits on anti-missile defence based on novel physical principles.

McFarlane's statement came as a revelation to everyone in the administration, including the President himself.

This triggered off a debate which continues to this day.

All the top American negotiators of the ABM treaty, with the exception of Paul Nitze, have condemned this arbitrary "broad" interpretation of the treaty. Many U.S. congressmen have done likewise. Not so Abraham Sofaer, the State Department's legal adviser, who published three treatises reinterpreting the treaty. The first dealt with the course of the negotiations, the second, with the ratification, and the third, with subsequent practice.

In reply, on September 20 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee published its own report. Its authors see the reference to novel physical principles as "the most flagrant abuse of the Constitution's treaty power in 200 years." The authors speak not merely of "an attack on one treaty, but a cavalier disregard for the rule of law itself, domestic and international." According to the newspaper Newsday, "the administration's so-called broad interpretation of the ABM treaty is nothing but a dishonest attempt to gut an agreement that right-wing ideologists have never liked....Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and his hard-line advisers are trying to use 'star wars' as an excuse to break the treaty."

The Senate has passed an amendment to the military appropriations bill, forbidding the administration to interpret (reinterpret) the treaty without the consent of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The President has threatened a veto.

Another dramatic battle took place on September 22, when the Senate voted on an amendment on SDI spending in the fiscal year 1988. The amendment would cut the requested 5.7 billion dollars to 3.7 billion. The vote was 50-50 and only a dramatic intervention by Vice-President Bush who has the deciding vote, saved 800 million dollars in addition to the amended sum.

The initiators of "star wars" are worried. Weinberger hastened to announce that research and tests on six concrete SDI programmes was to be speeded up. And yet "President Reagan's plan for a strategic defence is in the dock - and the Senate has already erected a gallows," according to Richard Perle, former Assistant Secretary of Defence, now a journalist. Sustaining the metaphor, he writes that Congress is preparing a strong rope using the ABM treaty. Perle calls representatives Les Aspin and Norman Dicks the executioners and Senator Sam Nunn - the hanging judge.

At the same time, Nitze believes the Soviet proposal to discuss limits to possible research in ABM should be accepted in order to agree on these limits and on cuts in strategic offensive weapons. There are, however, many opponents of this view in the Defence Department and within the administration.

If the administration is divided and cannot speak with one voice on the issue, the alternative is to leave everything as it is, including the "traditional interpretation of the 1972 treaty." This would mean no more than a reaffirmation of the American stand at last year's Reykjavik summit.

Speaking in Chicago on November 17, 1986, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said: "The President responded to Soviet concerns by proposing that for ten years both sides would not exercise their existing right of withdrawal from the ABM treaty and would confine their strategic defence programmes to research, development and testing activities permitted by the ABM treaty. This commitment would be in the context of reductions of strategic offensive forces by 50 per cent in the first five years and elimination of the remaining ballistic missiles in the second five years."

This has been the issue all along.

New York

Eighty per cent of West Europeans support the likely U.S.S.R.-U.S. agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. Sixty per cent of them think that this agreement would suit Europe's interests most; seven, that it would most benefit the United States; and nine per cent, that this move would play into the hands of the U.S.S.R. Twenty-four per cent of those questioned were of the opinion that both sides would gain from the dismantling of the missiles.

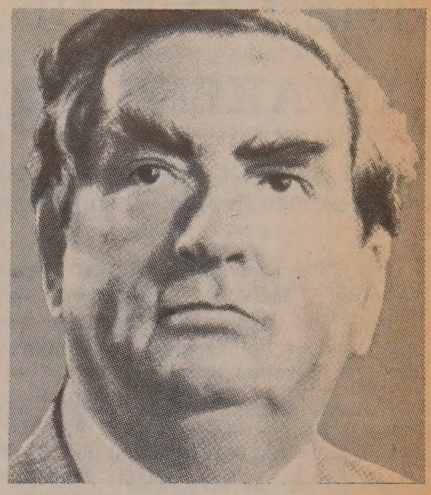
It was after the news of Soviet-American understandings had come that I learned of the results of this poll arranged by the Dutch company Burke Interview. Judging from other reports pouring into London from West European capitals, the agreement now in prospect has revealed some of the NATO countries' strategic foreign policy priorities. Until recently they held forth about their adherence to the idea of reducing military confrontation on the continent. And now, as if at a word of command, they have started talking about the so-called "compensation measures" which are supposed to guarantee security for "defenceless" Western Europe in the event of the U.S. missiles being dismantled.

I asked Denis Healey, the British MP who held the post of Secretary for Defence in the Labour government, to share his reflections in connection with the coming agreements.

"I think the agreement between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz," Denis Healey told me, "invaluable to world peace, not so much because of the importance of the weapons which are to be dismantled but because it may mark the beginning of the process which will lead to perfect cooperation between the superpowers on disarmament. My worry at the moment is that certain NATO countries may try to circumvent the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles, which I confidently expect to be signed during the summit meeting later this year, by trying to get American agreement to replace the cruise and Pershing missiles with sea- or air-launched missiles which would have exactly the same purpose as the missiles which have been withdrawn. But I was somewhat reassured by the remarks of the NATO supreme allied commander and the NATO Secretary-General that they do not want to do more than carry out the decisions already taken by NATO. The latter do not provide for the deployment of air- or sea-launched cruise missiles or indeed the B-52 bombers with bombs."

# Compensation for missile scrapping?

## Denis Healey on NATO's view of INF agreement



**What do you think of the prospects of the talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons? Could the American "star wars" programme interfere with their progress?**

"I hope that the Soviet and U.S. governments will start negotiating now on the 50 per cent cut in strategic weapons to which they have pledged themselves. I believe that the American Congress will not permit Mr Reagan to test or deploy weapons in space in defiance of the strict implementation of the ABM treaty. Reagan will not be President for more than another twelve months. It seems to me very unlikely from what I've heard that even the most enthusiastic supporters of the 'star wars' programme would be in a position to break the ABM treaty over this period. This makes a 50 per cent cut in Soviet and U.S. strategic offensive weapons highly likely."

**What do the European NATO member states consider their most important task now in view of the progress made in Soviet-U.S. negotiations?**

"For Europe the most important thing is to begin negotiating for cuts in conventional forces in Europe so as to eliminate any disparities which may exist, as the Warsaw Pact governments have proposed. The Warsaw Treaty states have substantial superiority in tanks, but I think the Soviet government would be well advised to give more information to the world about the size and structure of its armed forces because until they do that the most pessimistic estimates made by Western intelligence will be accepted as the truth.

"I think it is also very important to explore what the Soviet Union means by its statement that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty should revise their military strategies and make them defensive. Finally, I think that the removal of battlefield nuclear weapons would be part of the reduction of conventional forces, and I hope that those Soviet spokesmen who have said that it would be possible very quickly to sign a treaty banning chemical weapons and getting rid of existing stockpiles under international verification are correct."

**Let us please get back to NATO's "compensation measures." Won't they cancel out the coming agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles and undermine the basis for fruitful talks on the entire range of disarmament problems?**

"If NATO takes such measures, namely if it deploys at sea and on aircraft weapons with precisely the same purpose as those withdrawn, it would make a complete nonsense of the agreement now in prospect. On the other hand, if NATO restricts itself to an improvement in the Lance missile which has a very much shorter range, I don't think this would threaten the agreement. And another thing: I think that if both sides want to save money, an agreement not to modernize these weapons is very important. The destruction of existing stockpiles may save neither side any money because getting rid of, say, chemicals and nuclear material in existing weapons is very expensive. So if the Soviet Union wants to save money and resources it must carefully cut the total size of Soviet and U.S. armed forces and seek an agreement not to modernize these forces."

**Mikhail Gorbachev says in his article that given a mutual desire for an agreement a fifty per cent cutback in offensive weapons, with the ABM treaty strictly observed, could become a reality as early as in the first half of the coming year. Do you think Britain and France, which possess strategic nuclear weapons, may eventually join this process?**

"Well, I think it is clear that the British and French governments will not participate in an agreement for a 50 per cent cut, although Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has said many times that if deep cuts are made by the superpowers, Britain will then consider whether to join in the next step. On the other hand, everything will depend on which weapons are included in the 50 per cent cut, and there is a school of thought in the United States, which I support, which believes in what they call 'defensive nuclear deterrence' and which concentrates on getting rid of weapons which may appear to have a first-strike capability. One of these weapons is the Trident D5 missile, which Britain is planning to buy from the U.S. It is not impossible that even in the first stage the Americans would decide not to go ahead with the Trident D5 and this, of course, would put the British government in a great difficulty. You may remember that over twenty years ago Britain agreed to buy the Skybolt missile from the U.S., and the American government decided not to proceed with that programme. A repetition of the Skybolt crisis is not impossible."

**What is the British Labour Party's stand on nuclear arms control?**

"The Labour Party is strongly in favour of NATO moving away from dependence on first use of nuclear weapons, and one of the objectives of the talks on conventional arms cuts in Europe would be to relieve NATO of the need to use nuclear weapons first. Besides, the Labour Party wants to get rid of U.S. nuclear weapons in Britain. The Shevardnadze-Shultz agreement, if it is fulfilled in a treaty, would achieve part of this objective."

**YURI SAGAIDAK**

London

# THE LAND OF ANGKOR AWAKENS TO NEW LIFE

**HENG SAMRIN, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, interviewed by New Times**

**The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is approaching. What influence have its ideas had on the Kampuchean people's national liberation struggle?**

For a long time the people of Kampuchea, like the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, fought against feudal lords and colonialists but suffered defeats. After the victory of the Great October Revolution the Communist Party of Indo-China emerged and assumed leadership of the three nations' revolutionary struggle. As the anti-colonial and liberation movement gained momentum, we began to win victories. The next stage of its development saw the formation of a Communist party in each of the three countries of Indo-China. The Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (now known as the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party) adhered to the course pointed by the October Revolution and asserted the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. It stepped up the revolutionary struggle, and in 1975 our people brought the war against the French colonialists and the American imperialists to a victorious end.

However, the Pol Pot clique betrayed the revolution and plunged Kampuchea into an unprecedented catastrophe: the whole nation was being exterminated before the eyes of the world.

On January 7, 1979, we overthrew the genocidal regime with the immediate assistance of the Vietnamese Communists and the fraternal Vietnamese people. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party was revived, and its socialist traditions and solidarity with fraternal socialist countries restored. This friendship and cooperation, born of the October Revolution, was an earnest of the victory of the Kampuchean revolution, a guarantee of national independence and our country's prosperity.

**The republic is now healing the wounds inflicted by the long war and the genocidal regime and building a new life. What progress have you made in reviving your socio-economic life and culture?**

The war imposed on us by American imperialism, and the policy of genocide conducted by the Pol Pot clique did enormous damage to the country in all spheres of life, causing suffering and grief to every family. The Fifth Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party set the nation the task of restoring and developing three key branches of our national economy, in particular: agriculture, rubber plant growing, silviculture and fishing.

In agriculture our top priority is to increase food production. Although our sown areas and gross harvests still fall short of the planned targets, farm crop yields continue to grow from year to year. Our industry and petty commodity production have also made perceptible progress. We have restored a number of important consumer goods manufacturing factories. We promote rubber plant growing, silviculture and commercial fishing, which contribute substantially to the growth of our export earnings.

Our constructive efforts in the socio-cultural sphere have led to a considerable improvement of the situation in public education, for instance. There are now more students than ever in the history of Kampuchea, with one in four Kampucheans going to school. We have restored our network of hospitals and first-aid stations. Special attention is being paid to providing for orphans and old people who lost their bread winners and their families during the Pol Pot regime's reign of terror. In short, life in the country is returning to normal.

I would like to stress that all this has been made possible by tremendous disinterested assistance on the part of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Laos and other socialist countries.

We have achieved a great deal but, for all our efforts, we still have many difficulties. The living standard in the country is still low, and we are short of materials and equipment. We have inherited these problems from the past. Adverse weather conditions, especially in the last years, are also making themselves felt.

**The republic's government has recently proclaimed a policy of national reconciliation. In what ways can it contribute to the settlement of the Kampuchean problem?**

The Kampuchean government has always insisted that the Kampuchean problem be settled by peaceful means, through negotiations. We want to put the earliest possible end to the tragic aftermath of the years of imperialist aggression, and of Pol Pot's policy of genocide. We want to pool the resources of Kampucheans both inside and outside the country for the restoration and progress of our country, the heir to the glorious civilization of the land of Angkor, the assertion of our independence and freedom, and the prosperity of our country. These are the lofty objectives of the national reconciliation policy proclaimed by the Kampuchean government in August 1987 and manifesting our good will and our keen sense of responsibility for the fate of our country.

The national reconciliation programme confirms the patriotic character of the whole policy the country has been conducting since the formation of the United Front for National Salvation in December 1978. Out of respect for our people's common aspirations, we are determined to achieve a peaceful settlement of the problem through talks between the parties concerned, and have put forward numerous constructive proposals to that effect. At the same time, the Vietnamese voluntary troops have for five years been unilaterally withdrawing from the territory of Kampuchea. This process will be completed by the year 1990.

There are already many encouraging indices of the effectiveness of our efforts and our policy of good will. I mean, for example, the accord reached in Ho Chi Minh City last July between Vietnam and Indonesia - representing the states of Indo-China and the ASEAN, respectively - on the unofficial meeting of all the three sides. The three countries of Indo-China have approved this agreement as a means of achieving a political settlement and ensuring peace and security in Southeast Asia.

Unfortunately, the statement published by the ASEAN representatives in Thailand last August deadlocked Indonesia's efforts and blocked whatever progress had been made towards a dialogue. The authors of the statement should recall their own repeated pronouncements on the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination and the Kampuchean problem, and leave it to the Kampuchean sides to deal with the matter on their own. However,

PERSIAN GULF

# Before it is too late

●THE SITUATION IN THE PERSIAN GULF IS NEAR TO BOILING POINT. THE U.S. NAVAL FORCES THERE HAVE MOVED FROM THREATS TO DIRECT MILITARY ACTION.

They have attacked, seized and destroyed the Iranian vessel "Iran Ajr." They have opened fire on another Iranian vessel suspected of intending to approach the American frigate Jarrett. In short, a chain of dangerous incidents is building up, creating a new situation fraught with the risk of an eruption the scale and consequences of which are unpredictable.

It would seem that now is the time, before it is too late, to pause on the brink of the opening abyss and try to step back, and then, acting in a sober, considered but resolute manner, eliminate the factors which have brought the situation in the region to a flashpoint. This seems to be understood everywhere, the West included.

Senators in Washington are reported to have expressed concern about the developments in the Persian Gulf, and are said to be preparing legislative restrictions on the administration. The American media are expressing understandable concern.

Meanwhile, events are edging not away from, but towards the abyss. Hard-liners believe the only way to restore peace in the Persian Gulf is to use force. The "victorious" U.S. naval operations against Iranian landing barges, in their view, add to the credibility of Washington and its allies.

Already about 80 U.S., French, British, Italian, Belgian and Dutch warships are in, or on their way to, the Persian Gulf. This is the biggest armada to have been assembled since the second world war. Although the U.S. NATO allies are sending their ships to the Persian Gulf on the hypocritical pretext that they are protecting their own "national interests," and only theirs, it is an open secret that this constitutes political pressure on Iran. The military fist is ready to be brought down on the sovereign independent state at any moment.

The recent visit to the Gulf by U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger is also seen as building up pressure on Iran. The Secretary visited the American vessels in the Gulf and issued inflammatory statements and threats against Iran. It is reported that he gave the order to destroy the captured Iranian vessel, which was then filled with explosives and blown up. Simultaneously, Reagan warned that he would veto any attempt by Congress to limit American commitments in the Gulf.

Speakers at the current session of the U.N. General Assembly are voicing their concern about the fact that the situation in the Persian Gulf has reached a critical point and may get out of control. Addressing the session, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made important and concrete proposals to normalize the situation, end the senseless and sanguinary Iran-Iraq war, and ensure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Persian Gulf. Some people in the West who still subscribe to outdated stereotypes have tried to question these proposals, claiming that the U.S.S.R. wants to "oust" the U.S. and Western countries from a region which is vital to them. But louder voices are calling for the Soviet proposals to be heeded and implemented as soon as possible.

**EVGENY KORSHUNOV**

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they preferred to juggle their eight-point proposal, aimed at throwing Kampuchea open to the Pol Pot clique. This is gross interference in our country's internal affairs.

The national reconciliation policy proclaimed by the Kampuchean government has as its aim removing the main obstacle in the way of national unification - the Pol Pot clique and its closest accomplices. Ours is a policy of uniting all Kampuchean patriotic forces, rallying them for the sake of lasting peace and national prosperity, and peace and friendship with countries near and far. We want to restore and strengthen our land without fear of outside interference, or the return of the horrors of genocide.

Kampuchean patriots and the international public at large do not want the sadistic Pol Pot clique to regain power. We are certain that our call for national reconciliation will bring a ready response from both the parties concerned and the international community, which feels for the people of Kampuchea in their misfortunes. A political settlement of the Kampuchean problem will be arrived at as soon as all interested parties, all patriotic Kampucheans and the public as a whole reach consensus on how to remove the Pol Pot clique, the chief obstacle in the way of national reconciliation, from the political scene.

The time has come for all Kampuchean patriotic forces to unite in one big national family, to consider the country's future and their responsibility for it, and take a hand in building an independent, sovereign and non-aligned Kampuchea.

We say: let us look for a settlement through negotiations, not in the blind alleys of confrontation or in a war of words.

**In July 1987, you had a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, which gave a new impulse to the development of all-round Kampuchean-Soviet cooperation. What would you say about the present state of relations between our parties, between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Kampuchea?**

The meetings between the party and the state leaders of Kampuchea and the U.S.S.R. - our July meeting with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, in particular - have repeatedly confirmed the determination of both sides to continue to promote all-round cooperation between our two parties and states.

Comrade Gorbachev shared his view of the development of the situation in Kampuchea and stressed, in particular, the importance of the Kampuchean government's line of national reconciliation as according with the overall worldwide trend towards peace, détente and dialogue. The Soviet Union promptly and vigorously supported our country's statement on the policy of national reconciliation. The Soviet Union's stand on this matter comes from its respect for the interests of the people of Kampuchea, their right to independence and democracy, and, especially, their right to deal with their problems on their own, without outside interference. The party, government and the whole people of Kampuchea regard this as a powerful support in our just struggle. Friendship and all-round cooperation between our parties and peoples are deepening from day to day, to further up the cause of peace and stability in Southeast Asia, the Asian-Pacific region and throughout the world.

I take this opportunity to extend, on behalf of our party, our state, and the whole Kampuchean people, our profound gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet government, and the fraternal Soviet people for their steady and disinterested help, and their firm support of the cause of my country's revival, and Kampuchea's gradual advance along the road to socialism.

Pnompenh

SRI LANKA

## NEW WAVE OF VIOLENCE

● ONCE MORE SHOTS ARE BEING FIRED AND BLOOD BEING SHED IN SRI LANKA.

The four-year war between the Sinhalese and the Tamils claimed more than 6,000 dead and caused economic damage amounting to billions of rupees. The much-needed peace came on July 29 when President Junius Jayawardene of Sri Lanka and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signed an agreement to end the ethnic crisis. Under the agreement Indian troops were moved into the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

Life began to return gradually to normal, and people of all ethnic groups ceased to be afraid to walk in the streets and travel to other parts of the country. But in the last few days the newspapers have again been reporting numerous bloody clashes. The new



# Will the master speak?

The news that Licio Gelli has given himself up in Geneva is expected to cause fear and panic in Italy.

It opens a new chapter in the record of the subversive Masonic lodge P-2 (Propaganda-2) and its master. Let us recall the background to the affair.

From the sixties to the present time P-2 has been the biggest backstage power centre of the right in Italy and some other countries. Its influence was undiminished by the scandalous revelations in 1981 and its official banning.

One of the reasons for its tenacity is that in addition to the secret (already published) lists of members, there are top-secret lists (every attempt will be made to prevent them from being published). These people have kept their posts and influence and are seen by the conservative establishment as their bulwark in Italy. They are the hope of the right in the U.S. where P-2 is still considered an indispensable weapon in defending American interests in Italy.

From the postwar years until the late seventies these forces perceived the Communists as the chief threat. To stop the Communist Party from gaining a foothold in the government, all possible means were used. In recent decades the shadow of P-2 lurked behind every major crime in Italy - from political assassinations to attempted government coups. The master of the lodge assiduously served the interests of his social class. In return, the American secret services helped him escape abroad when the lodge was exposed.

The master had another major task before him. From the mid-seventies the right in the U.S. has been trying to use the P-2 leader to neutralize those political leaders in Italy and the rest of Western Europe who have called for greater independence of Europe from Washington.

This confronted the P-2 leader with the painful dilemma of whose side to take. The attempt to "serve two masters" had a sad outcome. In 1982, during the Anglo-Argentine conflict over the Falkland Islands, Gelli organized arms supplies to Buenos Aires from France and Italy in defiance of the embargo by Washington, which had taken the British side. Retribution was swift. On June 17, 1982, the banker Roberto Calvi, Gelli's associate, was found hanged under a London bridge. Three months later Gelli himself was arrested in a Geneva bank where he had gone to cash a cheque on a forged Argentine passport.

Handcuffed, Gelli was taken to the Champ-Dollon prison, a good place in which to reflect on whether it had been worth biting the hand that fed him, especially considering that Interpol was after him. It did not take him long to draw the correct conclusions. On August 10, 1983, the U.S. special services helped Gelli escape to Latin America. Why then has the Honorable Master voluntarily given himself up? Does he feel that he is no longer needed? Has he repented? Or is he just tired?

**This is not the moment when Gelli gave himself up. When this photo was taken the master commanded enormous secret power in Italy, and he retains much of his influence today.** Photo from Panorama (Italy)

His surrender took place at a time of stormy debate in Rome, specifically in the ruling majority, over the sending of warships to the Persian Gulf. Some Italian and other West European circles consider Washington's policy in the region from which the Old World gets its vital supplies of oil to be madness. Gelli's anonymous patrons believe that his knowledge of the "secrets of the regime" could enable him to silence some critics of the U.S. by blackmail.

It is perhaps significant that the master's "capitulation" occurred at a time when the dollar was making inroads on the lira (as has happened more than once in the past when Italy was to be punished).

Licio Gelli is the fifth undesirable witness to be brought to justice with the help of U.S. secret services. The four previous ones were mafia chief Tommaso Buscetta, financial swindler Michele Sindona, fascist terrorist Stefano Delle Chiaie and U.S. and Italian intelligence agent Francesco Pazienza. All of them enjoyed the protection of politicians and Freemasons, and had much to tell.

But the "four" did not live up to expectations. Rival mafia clans set about exterminating Buscetta's relatives with such brutality that he had to remain silent to save the survivors and his own life. Sindona was prevented from sharing his secrets by a dose of cyanide in his coffee. Chiaie and Pazienza are clearly frightened and in no hurry to make revelations. This may be the reason why Gelli preferred to give himself up to the Swiss and not to the Italian authorities. Will guards and thick prison walls be sufficient protection? After all, Sindona died in gaol.

**LEV MAKAREVICH**

outbreak of violence is being blamed on the Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

The Tigers are the most powerful extremist group advocating the formation of a Tamil state in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

The Lankan-Indian agreement caught the Tigers by surprise. They did not expect the agreement to meet with such broad popular support, even winning the backing of Tamils, weary of the prolonged internecine feud. To maintain their leading position, the Tigers agreed to a cease-fire and to lay down arms, despite being opposed to the agreement. The extremists, however, surrendered only heavy weapons holding onto their small arms, arguing that other groups had weapons in reserve and might use them to settle accounts with the Tigers.

The main cause for a new wave of violence lies perhaps in the fact that in the conditions of peace the Tigers have begun to lose quickly their prestige and influence among the population of the Northern and Eastern provinces.

Besides, other Tamil groupings, which support the agreement, have become more active politically. They have opened offices in many places in the North and East, intending to campaign for seats in the proposed provincial council. All this constitutes a real threat to the hegemony of the Tigers.

The first shots were heard in the North. Their victims were not only members of rival groups, but civilians as well. In the Eastern province, the clashes were even more violent.

Seeking to preserve control of the Northeast at any cost, the Tigers are using "diplomatic channels." At recent talks with Jotiendra N. Dikshit, the Indian ambassador to Sri Lanka who is monitoring compliance with the agreement for the Indian government, the leader of the Tigers, Vellupillai Prabhakaran, advanced a number of demands aimed at giving the Tigers a monopoly of power in the Northeast of the country.

In spite of the aggravated tensions, the Lankan-Indian agreement is holding. Another round of Lankan-Indian talks on the future political and economic setup in the Northern and Eastern provinces has been completed. Under a bill to be endorsed this month, eight provincial councils are to be set up. Elections are to be held before the end of the year. There are difficulties in store. For example, the agreement provides for a merger between the Northern and Eastern provinces under a single provincial council. This means that the Tamils, Muslims and Sinhalese will have a single government. Time will show whether it will be able to take into account the interests of all communities and reconcile the warring factions.

Colombo

**ALEXANDER VOLKOV**

**"Don't you think it humane, my contra friend, to render humanitarian aid to a humanoid!"**
Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

F.R.G.- FRANCE

# Military ties grow stronger

●THE MOINEAU HARDI FRENCH-F.R.G. EXERCISES

NOW OVER, HAVE BEEN ASSESSED AS CONTRIBUTING TO STRENGTHENING THE TWO COUNTRIES' MILITARY TIES.

Formally the exercises held in Western Bavaria were outside the NATO programmes.

However, the participation of France, which has long been outside NATO's military structure, in joint exercises with the F.R.G., raises the question of whether these military manoeuvres are not paving the way for a French return to the fold. Only recently France took part (and not for the first time) in the NATO naval manoeuvres in the North Atlantic, and in the NATO exercise Display Determination-87 off the south coast of Europe. It should also be borne in mind that France, like its allies, maintains a military presence in the Persian Gulf.

Paris denies suggestions that it is going to rejoin NATO's military organization. Yet even if we view the F.R.G.-French manoeuvres in the context of bilateral military cooperation between Bonn and Paris, their offensive rather than defensive character and their frequency (the press reports that the F.R.G. and France hold about 50 such exercises a year) reveal a clear tendency on the part of France towards a return to the bloc's military system. The possibility is real despite the fact that formally the alliance between France and the F.R.G. is independent of NATO. It should be noted that France has recently stepped up its bilateral military ties not only with the F.R.G., but with other participants in the bloc's military organization, notably Italy and Great Britain.

French commentators covering the F.R.G.-French exercises (unprecedented in their scale and involving 75,000 troops) stress that the Franco-West German military alliance should provide the basis of a West-European defence, meaning, apparently, a military organization of the Western European Union that would be relatively independent of NATO. There are signs that Madrid is not averse to joining Paris and Bonn.

Considering the guarded French reaction to the Soviet-U.S. agreements on medium-range and shorter-range missiles, stepped up military cooperation between France and the F.R.G. may seem a welcome compensation for the withdrawal of U.S. missiles from Europe. Some people in France have said that "the protection of French borders begins far to the east of the Rhine."

Certain French politicians have already spoken in favour of deploying some French nuclear missiles in the F.R.G. They advocate the modernization of the French "deterrent," deeper "European military integration" and even a "confederation between the F.R.G. and France."

Military cooperation between the two countries, despite the many difficulties ahead, would not only involve the creation of joint military units and new military hardware (there are more than 40 such projects), but also cover space and missiles.

**ROSTISLAV ZOLOTAREV**

BURUNDI

# A coup without a single shot

● BURUNDI IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICTS RAGING IN VARIOUS PARTS OF AFRICA, BUT THE SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY IS COMPLEX.

Now it is all over: a new government has taken power and issued its first statements, shedding light on the background to the coup carried out in this small African country south of the equator.

The coup was caused, among other things, by a clash between the government and the Catholic church - an influential force in the country since the time of Belgian colonial rule (Catholics constitute 65 per cent of Burundi's population). The previous government, headed by Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, proclaimed the republic a secular state, and this formalized in the 1981 Constitution. In 1977, Catholic elementary (and later secondary) schools were nationalized, and the broadcasting of divine services ceased. Two hundred foreign missionaries were refused extensions to their visas, and 70 were turned out of the country. The move drew an official protest from Pope John Paul II. Several Burundian Catholic priests and laymen were arrested in the summer of 1985. Last spring the authorities accused the Catholic Church of "subversive activity" and of attempts "to interfere with the nation's advance towards unity." They banned public worship on weekdays, requisitioned a Catholic radio station, closed down a Catholic newspaper and disbanded the Catholic youth movement.

Another factor which contributed to the coup was the aggravation of the conflict between the Tutsis (who, while constituting 15 per cent of the population, ruled the country) and the Hutus (85 per cent). The Bagaza government tried to take the edge off the conflict by increasingly enlisting Hutus in managing state affairs. Nevertheless, on the whole, ethnic inequality persisted. The Tutsis accounted for three quarters of the overthrown cabinet's members, 13 out of 15 provincial governors, 96 per cent of all servicemen, and about two thirds of the country's students.

The economic situation in the republic has also deteriorated recently owing to a 30 per cent fall in world coffee prices (coffee brings Burundi 90 per cent of its hard currency earnings).

The difficult legacy of colonialism, economic difficulties and outstanding social problems added up to produce internal instability, as follows from the early statements by the Military Committee for National Redemption, which has come to power, and its leader Pierre Buyoya, the new president, disclosing the underlying reasons for the coup.

The committee has accused the previous government of having allowed foreigners to dominate the country's economy - on their own or in cooperation

with a handful of Burundi nationals - to the detriment of the national private sector. Pierre Buyoya laid special emphasis on the pernicious consequences of the "systematic suppression of criticism and self-criticism." The aggravation of senseless religious strife, the President said, had entailed a series of rash measures which had thrown the people into utter confusion. The Military Committee for National Redemption has announced that it will conduct a policy of good-neighbourliness, non-interference in other countries' internal affairs, positive non-alignment, international cooperation and support for national liberation movements. It has described the previous government's foreign and home policy as "irresponsible," called upon the nation vigorously to join in the effort to promote the development of the country, and voiced its intention to consult the population as a whole on all key political issues. Pierre Buyoya has said that the new regime will rule out any discrimination on ethnic grounds.

**VLADIMIR KOROCHANTSEV**

# A visit to the President

**President Mauno Koivisto of the Republic of Finland arrived in Moscow for an official visit to the U.S.S.R. on October 5. On the eve of the visit our special correspondent interviewed him in Helsinki.**

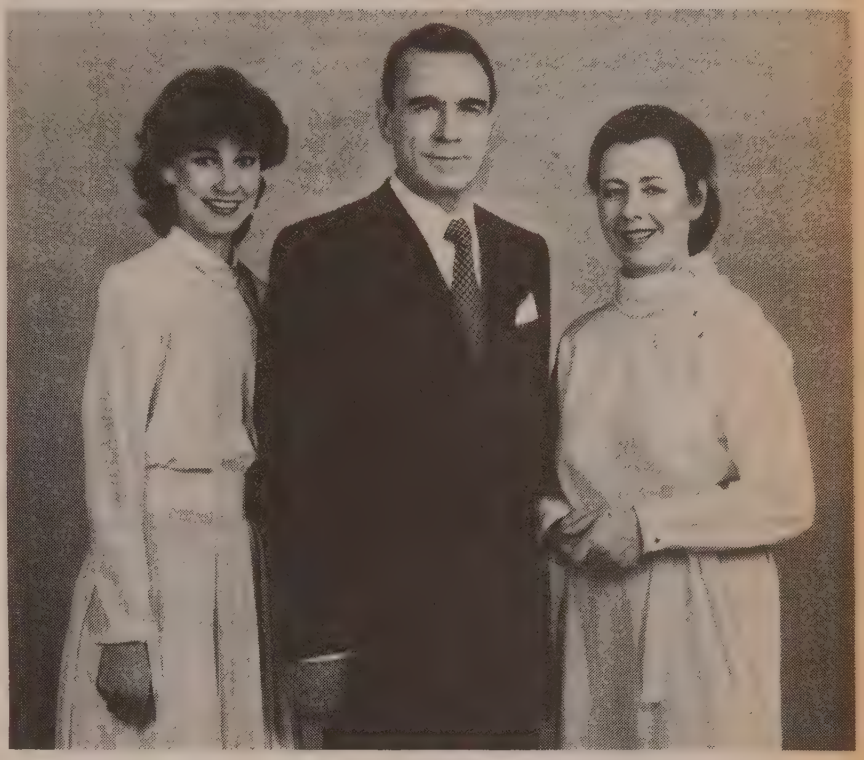
When the huge Silvia Regina ferry enters Helsinki's Southern Harbour, it dwarfs the houses on the waterfront, including a sand-coloured building once intended for visiting Russian emperors. Today it is the residence of Finland's President, a man adhering to a severe "strictly Finnish" life-style.

## Carrying on the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line

The President has a special role to play in the political life of Finland. The Constitution grants him great influence and freedom of action as a kind of counterbalance to Parliament. The President is entitled, for instance, to dissolve Parliament, call early parliamentary elections, submit bills, veto any act passed by Parliament, appoint members of the State Council - and so on. He also discharges the functions of commander-in-chief of the defence forces and is vested with special powers in foreign policy.

Mauno Koivisto is the ninth president of Finland. Worthy of special mention among his predecessors are, of course, postwar statesmen such as Juho Kusti Paasikivi and Urho Kaleva Kekkonen, who are usually identified with the establishment and development of good-neighbourly relations with the U.S.S.R. It was largely thanks to their efforts that the unfortunate practice of trying to resolve conflicts between our two countries by force of arms was overcome. Their policy of strengthening friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in every way not only provided the groundwork for new contacts between our two countries, but served as a prototype for what later came to be known as "European détente." Symbolically, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was signed in the capital of Finland, whose political leadership and President contributed so much to the success of that forum.

Although Mauno Koivisto had been acting president since September 1981 owing to Urho Kekkonen's illness, he was officially elected to the post in January 1982, receiving a majority vote in the first round. The outcome of the presidential election campaign was decided by the Finnish People's Democratic League. At the next presidential elections, scheduled for January 1988, Mauno Koivisto stands the greatest chance of success.



President Mauno Koivisto with his wife and daughter.

TASS photo

Carrying on and developing the Paasikivi-Kekkonen traditions is a tall order for a Finnish politician of any rank. Koivisto has rich experience of politics and life. Born in 1923 into a Turku carpenter's family, he grew up "in straitened circumstances," to quote his formal biography, and had to go to work at the age of 13. World War II changed his life drastically, landing him in dugouts for three years. It was only after hostilities on the Soviet-Finnish front were over that Koivisto could continue his education. On graduating from University, he took up economics and, in 1956, submitted his thesis on "Social Relations in the Port of Turku." Having once had a succession of jobs - including those of stevedore and office clerk - in the port of his home town he knew these relations at first hand.

Koivisto promptly gained a reputation as an expert in economics and finance and embarked on an active political career in

the Social Democratic Party, holding one executive post after another. In the late sixties, Mauno Koivisto gained prominence on the Republic's business and political scene. In whatever capacity - as director of the Bank of Finland, delegate to the International Monetary Fund, Minister of Finance or Prime Minister - he has always been concerned with the Finnish people's welfare, the situation in the Finnish economy, the development of Finnish-Soviet relations, and stability in the North European region. Mauno Koivisto seeks, above all, to bring the different forces in the country as close together as possible when dealing with its key economic and political problems.

Such is the man at the helm who visited the Soviet Union in the year of the 70th anniversary of Finland's independence and on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

## Thinking ahead

Before setting out on the visit, Mauno Koivisto granted an interview to a group of Soviet journalists.

"The movement led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, which had just carried out the revolution, and faced serious problems at home and a threat of invasion from the outside, unhesitatingly recognized Finland's independence," the President said. "This act of Lenin's was an example of the strict observance of the right of nations to self-determination that constitutes a pivotal principle of the revolutionary movement. It was at the same time an example of Lenin's realism, and testified to his statesmanship. From the decree signed by the Soviet leader we have come all the way through the postwar reappraisal, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, and the persistent efforts of the past few decades to the present state of our relations marked by what I'd describe as 'confidence' and 'continuity.'

"The Treaty of 1948, which remains in force till the beginning of the next century," the President went on, "has solved the problems of mutual security and built the confidence from which our extensive contacts and cooperation stem. However, we must make an additional effort to be equal to the new tasks posed by our time. Trade problems caused by a change in world oil prices have now come to the fore, for instance. Using special measures, we have succeeded in keeping the volume of our trade at roughly last year's level. This is an important achievement, given the seriousness of the situation. We must diversify the structure of our trade, and study and implement new forms of cooperation. The measures taken by the Soviet Union to restructure its economy offer new opportunities for doing so.

"Changes in the pattern of Soviet foreign trade, an increase in the proportion of finished products in your export, the granting to your foreign trade organizations of the right to make direct contacts, greater emphasis on production, scientific and technical cooperation - all this will intensify competition and make new demands on Finnish industry as well. Joint ventures are a concrete new form of cooperation. Here in Finland," Mauno Koivisto went on, "we are following with keen interest the intensification and acceleration of economic and social progress in the U.S.S.R. We have satisfied ourselves that what you are doing amounts to sweeping and far-reaching reforms in all sectors of public life. The changes now in progress in the U.S.S.R. will supposedly have a positive effect on the forms of cooperation that have established themselves in our relations, making this cooperation of more immediate practical importance and, at the same time, consolidating the successes achieved to date. On the whole, the measures now being taken in the Soviet Union are likely to have a favourable effect on international relations."

## Confidence-building measures plus arms cuts

"Naturally, I shall hear with great interest what the Soviet side has to say about international developments, the breakthrough at the disarmament talks and, in general, on large-scale initiatives in international affairs," the President went on. "Finland thinks highly of such initiatives. The agreement reached by the Soviet Union and the United States of America in principle on dismantling medium- and shorter-range missiles is historic. We hope it marks the first step towards an agreement on strategic and space weapons. We are against space being used for military purposes."

Asked by New Times whether, in his opinion, the nuclear arms race is likely to be transferred to waters around Europe following the elimination of ground-based medium- and shorter-range missiles, and whether there was a prospect of Finland's proposal for spreading confidence-building measures in the military field to the North Atlantic gaining acceptance, President Koivisto said that in Reykjavik the Soviet and American leaders had agreed, in principle, on far-reaching cuts in nuclear arms, sea-launched weapons included. Confidence-building measures are of course no substitute for such reductions. The best thing is to advance in both directions simultaneously. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe contributed substantially to the building of military confidence on land, but not at sea. Finland's proposal has not yet been rejected outright by anyone. Sweden has advanced a similar idea, but the measures it proposes are of a more limited nature. These questions are probably under discussion. Hopefully, agreements similar to those on confidence-building measures on land will be reached.

"Finland supports all the efforts aimed at consolidating stability in Europe," the President stressed. "European security is closely linked with strategic balance between the leading nuclear powers. We are confident that the present level of stability can be maintained with much fewer weapons, both nuclear and conventional."

Mauno Koivisto said he welcomed the emphasis, placed by Mikhail Gorbachev in a recent newspaper article, on the need to balance conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. In the President's opinion, it is very important to reduce nuclear arms and gradually to eliminate them. That this should result in a buildup of conventional arms is extremely unlikely as no one can afford such a costly programme. As an economist, Mauno Koivisto voiced his conviction that the world's economic difficulties serve to restrict the conventional arms race.

Predictably, our conversation turned to the problem of establishing a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

"The northern countries' foreign ministers," the President said, "formed a working group of experts in March 1986, to ascertain conditions for establishing a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. A historic decision is in the offing. It reflects the respect various northern countries have for each side's problems and efforts in the field of security. Consolidating the actual non-nuclear status of Northern Europe is central to Finland's security policy."

**ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV**
**our own correspondent**

Helsinki

# Reasonable sufficiency — or how to break the vicious circle

VITALY ZHURKIN, SERGEI KARAGANOV, ANDREI KORTUNOV

**Indeed, is it reasonable that there is an accumulation on our planet of more than 50,000 nuclear warheads? Or that nearly 30 million men are under arms in various countries of the world? And this, in peacetime!**

The arms race, however, has its own inner logic, one that in the final analysis leads to the most irrational of all possible outcomes - the annihilation of the human race. It is precisely the objective of the reasonable sufficiency concept to break the vicious circle of this logic.

## Keys to security

The basic premise of the concept is that security is primarily a political problem. In our time reliable security of a country can be ensured only through a strategy representing an integral rational combination of the political, military, economic, ideological, humanitarian and other factors involved. The dominant role in this complex is played by political factors. There alone we can find the rational answer to the challenge presented to the security of the nations. **In the political sphere the key to the solution of the central problem of the security of each state separately and all of them taken together, to the limitation and reduction of armaments can be found.**

By relying exclusively on military technical means a state inevitably sets its own security against international security, its own interests, against the interests of the world community as a whole. And concept of reasonable sufficiency requires of political leaders a readiness to take account of the interests of their adversaries, to make concessions and agree to compromises. Firm observance of one's own interests does not exclude, but rather presupposes, readiness to make concessions. Only in this way can agreement be reached.

It is the enormous dimensions of the existing nuclear arsenals that afford broad possibilities for drastic and far-reaching steps towards scaling them down to the levels of reasonable sufficiency. To rule out the possibility of a nuclear strike made with impunity, to deal the aggressor an unacceptable damage by air retaliatory strike, the side attacked would need to use only a small percentage of its strategic arsenal. Hence both sides could proceed to reduce nuclear (and not only nuclear) armaments in large quantities at once without prejudicing their security.

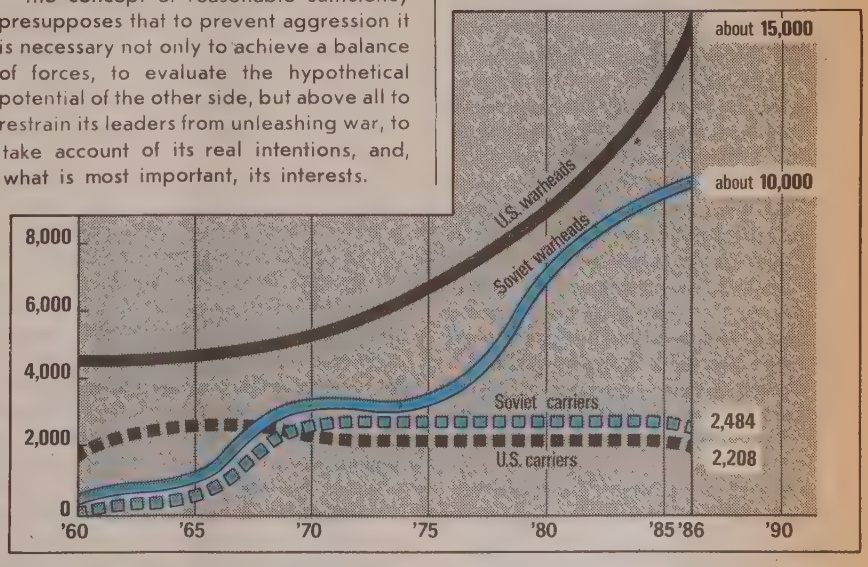
The concept of reasonable sufficiency presupposes that to prevent aggression it is necessary not only to achieve a balance of forces, to evaluate the hypothetical potential of the other side, but above all to restrain its leaders from unleashing war, to take account of its real intentions, and, what is most important, its interests.

These interests are as a rule constant, they change rather slowly and are determined by stable factors - geographical, class, economic, historical, socio-psychological, and last, but not the least political. A realistic assessment of these factors can be a safeguard against underestimation of the threat, which is fraught with the increasing likelihood of war, and against exaggeration of that threat which could provoke tensions, an arms buildup and eventually undermine international security.

To determine the dimensions of the threat it is not enough to properly appraise the armed forces of the other side; it is also necessary to make a thorough analysis of its specific political, social, moral, psychological, historical and cultural features. Only such an analysis can ascertain the extent of the damage wrought by retaliatory action the threat of which would deter its ruling circles from unleashing aggressive war.

## What symmetric response lacks

The process of adoption in international practice of the concept of reasonable sufficiency will of course be long and




THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC CARRIERS AND WARHEADS IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE U.S.A. (1960-1986)

**Vitaly Zhurkin** is a corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and deputy director of the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, **Sergei Karaganov,** Cand. Sc. (Hist.), is a head of section at the Institute, and **Andrei Kortunov,** Cand. Sc. (Hist.), is a senior researcher there.

difficult. Nevertheless in some areas of the relations between the two blocs it could be applied already today. After all, the principles of the concept are universal. For instance, they presuppose the need for strictly defensive military doctrines on both sides. Moreover, they presuppose bringing the structure of the armed forces, especially along the line of confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the development of the military policies as a whole, and the operational art (even tactics, perhaps, especially in Europe) into full conformity with the officially proclaimed defensive character of the military doctrines. **What is in question is the gradual creation of a political and military climate (primarily in Europe) in which neither side would stand in fear of surprise attack.** This would be facilitated by reducing the share of offensive and increasing the share of defensive weapons in the armed forces, and by changing the character of military exercises so as not to evoke the suspicions of the other side. That is, Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out in his recent article, the armed forces of any given state should be sufficient to repel potential aggressor but insufficient to conduct offensive operations. Needless to say, the best way to improve the general situation has always been and remains the reduction of armed forces and armaments.

An asymmetrical response to the provocative actions of the other side should play an important role in practical implementation of the principle of reasonable sufficiency. At first glance copying the actions of the initiators of arms buildups - the development and deployment of analogous systems - is the simplest and most "natural" means of preventing violations of the strategic balance. Actually, however, copying various armaments developed and deployed by the political aggressor frequently results in lagging behind in the arms race. Moreover, as military technology becomes more sophisticated and more time is needed to develop, test and deploy weapons, the lag could even increase.

Further, a symmetrical response means that the initiator of a new round in the arms race can make more effective use of its technological, geostrategic and other advantages. The other side is compelled to conduct the contest on the "opponent's field" and according to his "rules of the game." In that case the cost of the arms race (economic and political) could be greater for that side than for the initiator of the round.

Experience shows that the asymmetrical response not only makes it possible to avoid such negative consequences but creates some extremely complex problems for the country that initiated the arms race. For example, in the 1950s the United States persistently sought to compel the Soviet Union to compete with it in the building of a strategic bomber force, counting on the geostrategic advantages of the U.S. (primarily, the dense network of bases it had built around the U.S.S.R.) and also on its technological and industrial superiority enabling Washington to dictate its own terms in this competition. The asymmetrical response of the U.S.S.R. - the accelerated development of intercontinental ballistic missiles - was an unpleasant surprise for the U.S., forcing it to revise many of its traditional tenets of military strategy. The development of the ICBMs was the main factor enabling the U.S.S.R. to achieve within a historically brief space of time strategic parity with the U.S. (A more detailed exposition of the evolution of the principles of reasonable sufficiency will be found in an article by the same authors in the December issue of the journal U.S.A.: Economics, Politics, Ideology. - **Ed.**)

Equally discouraging and unexpected for Washington was the Soviet Union's resolve to give an asymmetrical reply to Strategic Defence Initiative should the U.S. decide, in spite of everything, to deploy weapons in outer space. The Soviet position as regards countermeasures to neutralize the SDI programme dooms that programme to strategic and economic failure.

## The advantage of unilateral action

An important element of reasonable sufficiency should be the flexible combination of bilateral and unilateral steps towards limiting and reducing armaments. Many believe that here unilateral measures play a purely secondary role, pursuing tactical rather than strategic objectives. Hopes are mainly pinned on bilateral and multilateral measures. As we see it, however, the correlation between bilateral and unilateral measures is more complex.

The bilateral (as well as the multilateral) process of reducing armaments is the principal avenue for ensuring security. Some notable progress has been made along these lines, and the potential in this respect is enormous.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to regard the bilateral process of reducing armaments as the only possible way and to close one's eyes to the difficulties and problems it involves. In the context of the unavoidable reciprocity of the bilateral process, the side that is interested in the continuation of the arms race and maintaining tension can, by simply blocking progress, cut short or emasculate the process. An agreement requiring thorough assessment of the extremely complex balance of interests not only takes time but in large measure reduces the negotiations to a technical procedure, to endless consultations of experts. As a result, the political substance of the negotiations can be eroded.

Since World War II some substantial measures to limit and reduce armaments have been implemented unilaterally. And although the U.S. and the West in general have also sometimes taken such steps (the demobilization of American forces after the war, U.S. troop reductions after the Vietnam war), the priority in this sphere unquestionably belongs to the U.S.S.R.

In the initial years after the end of World War II the Soviet Union demobilized about 8.5 million men. In 1955-58 the Soviet armed forces were unilaterally reduced by 2,140,000, and in 1960 there was a decision to make further cut of 1.2 million, but its implementation was later suspended.

These unilateral measures despite their scale (by the end of the 1950s the Soviet armed forces had been reduced by more than one third) by no means weakened the international positions of the U.S.S.R. On the contrary, the second half of the 1950s and the early 1960s were marked by a rapid growth of the prestige and influence of the Soviet Union and the gradual improvement of the world situation. Nor did these measures undermine the security of the U.S.S.R. For they were accompanied by a broad peace offensive which made virtually impossible for the West to bring additional military pressure to bear on our country. The unilateral steps taken by the U.S.S.R. in the 1970s were far more modest in scale and significance, although in the 1970s the political and strategic positions of the U.S.S.R. continued to grow stronger on the basis of the strategic parity with the U.S.A. which the Soviet Union had achieved by the beginning of the decade.

**In all probability reasonable sufficiency should presuppose the flexible combination of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures in the sphere of arms limitation.** Also possible are measures of an "intermediate type" combining the advantages of both the unilateral and bilateral or multilateral approach (for instance, parallel unilateral actions agreed between the states at a sufficiently high level, but not put in a form of an official agreement.)

## A faulty doctrine

Although the strategic balance between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., NATO and the Warsaw Treaty states is the determining factor of the military and political situation, the strategic nuclear forces as such account for a relatively small share of the economic burden of the arms race (for the

U.S., for example, it amounts to no more than 15-20 per cent of the defence budget). The bulk of the costs of the military confrontation is accounted for by the combined arms units and conventional armaments, a considerable part of which is intended for the realization of one or another regional objective. **The conventional arms buildup presents an ever more tangible threat to military-strategic stability. Hence the importance of applying the principle of reasonable sufficiency also at the regional level.**

The striving to create forces capable of waging hostilities in regional conflicts in several different theatres of operations concurrently comes into conflict with that principle. A striking example of such strategy is the American concepts of "two-and-a-half" or "three-and-a-half" wars, envisaging readiness to wage two (and perhaps three) major wars at once, for instance in Europe and in the Far East, and a small war in the Third World.

The irrationality of this approach stems not only from the fact that a "major war" would inevitably escalate into a nuclear war. The history of the last decades shows that in none of the regional armed conflicts (even those which in American terminology can be labeled as "half wars") has the aggressor succeeded in achieving a military victory not to speak of a political one. Judging by everything conflicts of the scale of the U.S. invasion of Grenada can be regarded as the upper limit of effective use of armed force in modern conditions. Any conflict of major dimensions can drag out for years and even decades, now waning, now flaring up again. While the political and military losses involved outweigh any advantages that might be gained.

**Thus, the level of reasonable sufficiency as applied to conventional armed forces must be determined not by the ability to win a major local conflict but by ensuring an adequate defence potential so that the aggressor should not be able to count either on a "local blitzkrieg" or on escalating such a conflict with impunity.** Accordingly, the importance of many quantitative factors decreases and the role of such factors as the quality of armaments, mobility and level of professional training, materiel, and preparedness of forces increases.

Another principle of reasonable sufficiency at regional (and for that matter at global) level is to avoid attempts to build up armed strength with the aim of balancing the combined forces of all potential adversaries. This is a totally unrealistic task. Confrontation with all potential opponents cannot but weaken a country. And the surplus of strength accumulated hinders the way to the arms reduction.

Speaking more generally, reasonable sufficiency evidently calls for selective definition of the political objectives as applied to each given region of the world and ensuring that these objectives conform to the economic potential and the main foreign policy principles and tasks of a country on the world arena. How costly violation of this principle can be was glaringly demonstrated by the Vietnam war: it showed the inability of U.S. political elite to match their aims with their means, and their ideological rhetoric with the interests and potentialities of the United States.

The principles of reasonable sufficiency at regional level should include also the renunciation by the great powers of attempts to act as military guarantors of Third World regimes that have no broad social base and are incapable of defending themselves. Thus, what is in question are measures to strengthen international security ruling out military involvement in developing countries.

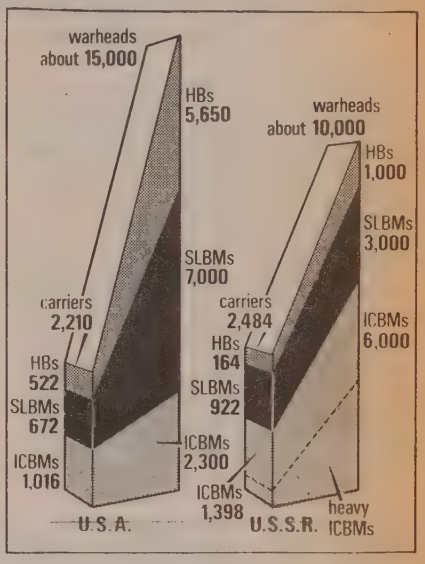
## Needed - glasnost in the military sphere

The transition from today's mutual military and political deterrence to a broad and eventually comprehensive system of international security is a complex and as yet far from fully comprehended process which will take an entire historical epoch. But one thing is clear already today, and that is the danger and bankruptcy of the concept of deterrence. It must be replaced by the concepts of international cooperation and mutual security in the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres. A prominent place here belongs to the principles of reasonable sufficiency. It is these principles that should determine the dimensions and character of the defensive potentials of states both at the successive stages of nuclear disarmament and in the nuclear-free world of the future.

The affirmation in internatiolnal life of the principles of reasonable sufficiency would be helped greatly by raising the predictability of the behavior of states, and primarily the great powers on the world arena. Predictability is a necessary condition for a reliable stabilization of the world strategic situation, but it is incompatible with the concept of nuclear deterrence. The Western architects and proponents of this concept have always regarded as one of its main virtues the unpredictability and even the irrationality of the behavior of the nuclear powers which supposedly has an intimidating effect on the other side, especially at times of international crises.

The concept of reasonable sufficiency is closely linked also with the problem of information on the mutual base on the military activity of the states. Some headway has been made in this respect (periodic release of information about strategic and other potentials and the Stockholm decisions relating to military exercises). A big contribution to this process was made by the Berlin Statement of the Political Consultative Committee on the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty states, their readiness to compare, together with NATO members, the military doctrines of the two alliances and the prospects of their evolution. But this is not enough.

**THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIET AND U.S. STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS**
(as for December 31, 1986)




**HB - heavy bombers, SLBM - submarine-launched ballistic missiles, ICBM - intercontinental ballistic missiles.**

**In the present-day world there is a need for openness, for more information about the armed forces of the sides.** For centuries secrecy in this sphere was an important means of safeguarding security. Today, when national means of verification are constantly being perfected, the core of the security system - strategic armaments, and to a considerable extent also conventional armaments - have in large measure ceased to be a secret for the other side. Moreover the absence of reliable information is often used by unscrupulous propaganda agencies for the systematic exaggeration of data and the fabrication of nonexistent "threats." Progress towards reasonable sufficiency should proceed parallel with the solution of this problem of international security.

■

**Diagram and graph based on data appearing in the Disarmament and Security yearbook (1986) of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute.**

LETTERS TO THE KREMLIN

**From enormous mail of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev**

# Our two countries can work together

Dear Mr Gorbachev,

I realize that there are formalities on how a person should address a man of your rank and position, but I have chosen to write to you as if I knew you because your book, "Towards a Better World," has made me feel as if you had spoken to me personally. I sensed a true desire to make the world a better place in which to live. Some of my friends might call me naive, but I certainly believe that you do have a desire to see that the world is not destroyed by nuclear arms.

My heart tells me that our two countries can work together to bring peace and stability to this planet. I know that there will always be competition between us, but why can it not be like the competition that I had with my brother when we were young?

I wanted to study the Russian language because there is no other way to show respect for people than to take the time to learn their language. Often Americans seem to think that everybody should learn English instead of thinking that ours is but one of many languages spoken in the world.

Your book has reawakened a dream that I have had; that dream is to some day have an impact on Soviet-American relations.

**Patrick Squires**
Charleston, U.S.A.

# Bold approach

Dear Mr Gorbachev,

I wish to express my admiration of the brave attitude you are taking with regard to defusing the nuclear situation. I am a middle-to-right wing voter, but not alone in respecting your leadership in this vital area. Furthermore, many of us are ashamed that other European and American leaders will not accept your initiatives.

Let us hope that history will demonstrate that soon they will recognize your true foresight and integrity.

**REX TOYN**
Bristol, United Kingdom

# Yes to nuclear disarmament

In the autumn and winter of 1986 an information and opinion campaign was carried out here concerning the effects of nuclear weapons. The campaign was initiated by the local branch of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. At the same time a petition for a nuclear test ban was signed.

The following statement was presented.

"To the governments of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, France, Great Britain and the People's Republic of China.

We, the inhabitants of Linköping, wish the people of the world a future in peace and freedom. We do not accept the threat to life and health that is posed by nuclear arms. We demand that the nuclear powers work actively for nuclear disarmament. Stop testing now and negotiate promtply for a comprehensive test ban treaty."

The campaign group was encouraged by the fact that the petition was signed by 25,000 individual persons, or 75 per cent of those polled, among them representatives of church organizations, trade unions, political parties, environmental and peace groups. This means that there is a strong opinion in our community for nuclear disarmament and for a nuclear test ban as the first step towards this goal.

**JOHAN WALAN**
Linköping, Sweden

# Teena... today,... adults... tomor...

Because ... often come... people ove... admit that... deplorably, ... at all. I do n... accidental. ... the school, ... is a great ... tape in th... reports me... people.

I recall m... little interes... interest was... watching M... on TV. The... a clip sho... Beatles, my... always ende... hits. The pr... Zorin, clev... music in ... young peop... first many... programme... it. Later we... tional event...

A READER'S CONTRIBUTION

**On strike.** Photo by Klaus Rose (F.R.G.)

# That ecological bombs be defused

There was a very interesting article by Albert Pin on the problems of ecology (issue No. 27, 1987). Deplorably, we have witnessed several explosions of "ecological bombs" in the recent years. There was a major accident o... 1984 at a p... Bhopal, wi... 800,000. 2... 100,000 oth... toxic gas i...

Europe ... tastrophe r... toxic indust... into the Rh...

The resi... populated ... victims of th... turns out ov... Many of the... to improve t... products ind... pounds that ... but also the...

A U.S. sp... thousands ...

SUGGESTIONS

programme from beginning to end. It was then that I learned about the Vietnam war. That tragedy shocked my coevals, leaving no one indifferent.

I have described this in such a great detail in order to encourage New Times to pay more attention to the problems of the young. You may say that there are special magazines for them. Let them write about music and other things of interest to young people. But those who are in their teens now will soon be adults. And unless they develop interest in political reports, social affairs, and current events in the world they will turn into Philistines. This is why I think you should not lose sight of young readers.

**VICTOR KULIKOV**
**Serviceman**

## An earnest of success

It is with much interest that I read an interview with the director of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics Leonid Abalkin (issue No. 28, 1987). I have been aware of his work since the mid-1970s, and I have quoted from them more than once in my own writings about the role of managerial cadres in a socialist economy.

I am very glad that Leonid Abalkin is now one of the pace setters in the reconstruction of the Soviet economy. New views of working people on the economy are needed for these structural changes to be implemented successfully, and concrete information must help shape such views. What is needed is, for instance, the publishing of weekly statistical reports in leading Soviet newspapers, not just in Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta, and the regular press conferences to comment on the results of that economic activity. For glasnost is an earnest of success in the reorganization of your economy.

**SIEGFRIED SEIDEL**
Leipzig, G.D.R.

**A Vietnamese mother.**

Photo by our reader Thu An from Ho Chi Minh City

OPINIONS

## The bridge that should be built from both sides

I read with fascination the article Meetings on the Bridge by Alexander Pumpyansky. Last summer I visited the U.S.S.R. for the first time.

Both Mr Pumpyansky and I undertook the trip for the same reason: to build bridges of peace between our countries. Before I left, many people here told me that I would see "only what THEY wanted me to see."

Contrary to those warnings, we learned something hopeful and wonderful about our two countries: people-to-people contact is more powerful than any propaganda. I came home determined to tell the story of my positive experience in the U.S.S.R. to as many people as I can in as many ways as I can.

I work with children and I never let an opportunity pass without telling them about the children I saw in the Soviet Union. Children who sing and dance and study just the way the children in America do. Children who laugh and cry and go on berry-picking expeditions. Most important of all, children who have parents, who love them and want a peaceful world for them to grow up in. I am happy that Mr Pumpyansky is reporting a similar story about my country in the U.S.S.R.

**MARY LU WALKER**
New York, U.S.A.

FOLLOW-UP

agents were discharged into the environment. As many as 5,700 billion litres of toxic waste from the chemical industry has been discharged into reservoirs in the U.S. alone. Fish are being poisoned not only in rivers but also in the oceans into which those rivers flow. Birds and animals are also threatened.

Experts are not painting a rosy picture of the future. Natural resources are being rapidly depleted. Soil is being eroded. Air and water are being polluted.

We can only hope that ecological awareness will be developed by people in many countries. This is a long and difficult path, as millions of people have to travel it. But they must do so.

**EMANUELA DEL DUCA**
Rome, Italy

## Harmful practice

On reading the article "No smoking is safe smoking" (issue No. 33, 1987), I cheered up. I am sure that it will encourage people in our country to give up smoking. I am over 70 and have never smoked, and do not smoke now. Nor do I drink alcohol. Yes, I am a teetotaller, I can say it with pride. And I wish others were, too. It greatly disturbs me that Soyuzpechat kiosks have started to sell cigarettes. Whatever you buy from the kiosks - newspapers, magazines, envelopes - now smells of tobacco. This is not a good idea at all.

**ALEXANDER PROSHIN**
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

## The struggle leads to victory

I want dictator Botha to go away, and then our dreams will come true. I wholeheartedly support all those who are fighting for freedom and independence in South Africa. If Botha is a big shark, we should find a big hook to get it out of the sea. Only when we finally get rid of the racists, shall we be able to build a bright society for ourselves. I am sure that only struggle will bring us victory over colonialism.

**STANFORD MUFUDZA**
Harare, Zimbabwe

# WHY IN 1939?

## Reflections on the origins of the second world war.

VALENTIN FALIN

As the nazi ruling clique wondered in the summer of 1939 whether or not to go to war, the critical issue for it was **not the conclusion of a non-aggression pact with the U.S.S.R., but the prevention of a military alliance between the Western powers and this country.** If Britain and France fail to come to terms with the Soviet Union, Hitler told his intimates, "I can crush Poland without any risk of conflict with the West." The nazi Fuehrer came to believe in his predictions so implicitly that he hurled himself into the campaign without any cut-and-dried plans for operations on the Western front. The first real outlines of such plans appeared only after October 10, 1939.

### Hitler's goals

London and Washington were regularly provided with detailed information about the Wehrmacht's practical preparations for a strike at Poland. They also received trustworthy data about both the Germans' efforts to woo Moscow and the very restrained reaction by the Soviet leadership to Berlin's advances. But the closer and hotter the breath of war became, the more obvious was the desire shown by the Chamberlain cabinet to let Hitler's Reich discharge its energy against other opponents of the British Empire as soon as possible, ward off the threat to itself at all costs, and ride out the storm by exposing others to the impending tragedy.

What was the Roosevelt administration guided by, apart from illusory hopes for the worst consequences of the conflict to bypass the United States? There is no exhaustive answer to this question even today.

Let us recall the events leading up to the Soviet-German non-aggression pact. Let us reconstruct, using for the most part German documents, what Hitler called "a dramatization of a new Rapallo period in German-Russian relations" and Ernst von Weizsäcker, Secretary of State in the Imperial Ministry of Foreign Affairs, summed up as "courting the Russians." Let us also bear in mind that Britain and France by that time already had non-aggression accords of their own with Germany.

Berlin analysts poring over Joseph Stalin's report to the 18th Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) detected a hint of Moscow's readiness to think of improving the Soviet-German relationship. The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs was instructed to exploit any Soviet indication of readiness to exchange opinions on the state of relations between the two countries.

Meeting with the Secretary of State from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 17, the Soviet plenipotentiary in Berlin raised the issue of Soviet orders placed with Skoda factories which had found themselves controlled by the Reich after the seizure of Czechoslovakia. Weizsäcker immediately stressed a connection between economic exchanges and shifts in political relations, in particular in developing "Russo-Anglo-French efforts towards signing an air pact and so forth." The envoy, according to the German minutes of the meeting, responded by emphasizing the consistency of the Soviet line of refraining from introducing ideological disagreements into interstate affairs and of maintaining normal relations with all countries.

On May 5, Julius Schnurre, a counsellor at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, notified chargé d' affaires G.A. Astakhov of his government's consent to settle the issue of the Soviet contracts with the Skoda factories. At their meeting on May 17, Schnurre assured Astakhov that the German side "will consider in a favourable light the possibility" of leaving the 1935 Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty in force in the territories of "the protectorates of Bohemia and Moravia." This is a matter of fundamental significance, reflecting the Soviet Union's non-recognition of the Munich deal and of the incorporation of Sudetenland and Bohemia into the Reich.

On May 20, 1939, Vyacheslav Molotov, who had been appointed People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, received German Ambassador Friedrich Werner von der Schulenburg. The latter informed him of Berlin's desire to send Schnurre to Moscow for "economic talks." The People's Commissar drew attention to the Germans' attempts to use economic questions for purposes that went beyond the framework of relations with the U.S.S.R. and said that the Soviet side would not start economic talks until there was a proper political basis for them. The disheartened ambassador went from Molotov to Deputy People's Commissar Vladimir Potyomkin to seek his advice on what to report to the government.

In view of the extremely cool response to the German feelers, Schulenburg was ordered to demonstrate "absolute reserve" and wait for the Russians to send a signal themselves. But Moscow remained silent, and it was Berlin once again that made the next move.

On May 30 Weizsäcker invited Astakhov to tell him that the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs had made contact with the Soviet side on the Fuehrer's instructions and had been acting under his supervision. Noting that politics and economics were inseparable, the Secretary of State then said, according to the German minutes: "Russia is being offered a fairly wide choice in the German political shop - from normalized relations to irreconcilable enmity." He made it clear that the Ukrainian issue was being removed and claimed that it had been engendered by Polish rather than German policy. Weizsäcker put down the gist of the conversation in his diary in these words: Germany "has been making groundbreaking proposals" but encountering "mistrust" on the part of the Russians.

On the same day Schulenburg was informed of changes in Germany's tactics. His instructions were to present a Soviet request that the U.S.S.R. trade mission in Prague be granted the status of a branch of the trade mission in Berlin as the starting point for contacts, as the issue involved a number of matters of principle and was being considered by the Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The biggest difficulties in reorienting Germany's official line were expected from Japan. On June 5, 1939, Schulenburg sent a cable to Weizsäcker, warning that

**Continued.** For the first two instalments see issues 38 and 39.

"the Japanese will be displeased by the slightest relaxation between us and the Soviet Union."

It was at that time that the events on the Khalkhin Gol (May-August 1939) were taking place. The developments on the hitherto little-known Mongolian river were exerting a direct influence on both the short- and long-term plans of the aggressive powers and their appeasers. Let us just note for the time being that Hitler had decided - in circumvention of the "anti-Comintern pact" - to confront his Japanese ally with a fait accompli. And his intention to do so grew stronger as the U.S.S.R. demonstrated its ability to honour its commitments to the Mongolian People's Republic.

On June 28, Schulenburg called at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to "share his impressions" of his trip to Berlin. The ambassador listed such proofs of good will as the restraint of the German press, the signing of non-aggression pacts between the Reich and the Baltic states, and its readiness to open economic talks with the Soviet side. That the Germans harboured no ill intent had been further demonstrated, according to Schulenburg, by the fact that Germany had not abrogated the Berlin treaty of neutrality (signed with the U.S.S.R. in 1926). Moscow, however, had not, the ambassador complained, reciprocated in kind. According to the Soviet minutes, Schulenburg declared that "the German government wishes relations with the U.S.S.R. to be not only normalized, but improved" and that this statement, made on instructions from Joachim von Ribbentrop, had been authorized by Hitler.

Describing Molotov's reaction in his dispatch to Berlin, Schulenburg pointed out the conspicuous distrust shown by his Soviet interlocutor, although on the whole, it seemed to the ambassador, the People's Commissar had taken a "softer" line than on May 20. The instructions received by the embassy on June 29 were that "what has been said is enough" and that no more political exchanges were to be conducted until further notice. An interval lasting almost a month ensued.

Intervals in politics are a vague concept. Berlin was not idle, either in July, earlier or later. It conducted intensive negotiations with the Poles. Ribbentrop made a "compromise" proposal to Warsaw, namely to form a German-Polish alliance so as to "jointly subdue Soviet Russia" and wrest away the Ukraine which would then be divided between the two aggressors by amicable agreement. But the Polish rulers dithered: Chamberlain and the 1st Earl of Halifax, while encouraging them to find a "peaceful solution" to the problem of the Danzig Corridor, warned them against falling into the hands of the Reich.

It was a most intricate tangle, with the British comparing notes with with the Germans, Poles, French, Americans, Japanese and us; the Germans intriguing with the British, bringing pressure to bear on the Poles and wooing Moscow; the Poles swinging between the Germans and the British, and the U.S.S.R. maintaining contact with the British, the French and the Germans. Everything was to be decided at the last moment.

**The British military mission on its way to Moscow.**

## War on two fronts!

On July 27, Schnurre invited the chargé d'affaires and the trade representative of the U.S.S.R. to offer them a plan for the phased normalization of relations between the two countries, which called for:

a. the resumption of cooperation in the economic field by signing a crediting and economic agreement;

b. normalizing and improving the political relationship, to be demonstrated by showing respect for each other's interests in the press and public opinion and by taking a respectful attitude to each other's scientific and cultural achievements;

c. restoring good political relations on the basis available (the Berlin treaty of 1926) or reorganizing them with account taken of each other's vital political interests.

The prerequisite for all this, Schnurre stressed, was the Soviet Union's review of its unequivocally anti-German stand.

Astakhov replied that the best word to describe the situation the U.S.S.R. had found itself in was encirclement - the "anti-Comintern pact" and the policies of Japan; the Munich agreement that had given Germany a free hand in Eastern Europe, that was to say against the U.S.S.R.; and the inclusion by Germany of Romania as well as the Baltic states and Finland in its sphere of interests, which was viewed by Moscow as an increased threat. In the light of those facts the U.S.S.R. did not see any positive change in Germany's policies.

Since there followed no other response to the new German proposals, Ribbentrop invited Astakhov on August 3 to tell him that it was possible to adjust relations between the two countries proceeding from the principle of non-interference in each other's home affairs and mutual abstention from pursuing a policy affecting the other side's vital interests. The German Minister of Foreign Affairs insisted that between the Baltic and the Black Sea there were no problems that couldn't be ironed out.

As for Poland, Germany has been monitoring developments carefully and composedly, but if there is a provocation, retribution will follow within a week. Ribbentrop hinted at the desirability of mutual understanding with the U.S.S.R. on the consequences of such a turn of events. He made it clear that he had his "own standpoint on the state of Soviet-Japanese relations" and did not rule out a lasting modus vivendi.

The account of the meeting sent to Ambassador Schulenburg dropped Ribbentrop's words that Germany had held secret talks with Britain and France. Hitler's chief diplomat gave Astakhov to understand that the Germans were aware of Soviet-Anglo-French contacts and that it depended on Berlin which tack the British and French governments would eventually take.

Waiting in vain in Berlin for the desired response from Moscow clearly got on the nazi leadership's nerves. Schulenburg was ordered to ask for an audience with Molotov at once to press him for a reply to Ribbentrop's suggestions. When he finally met with the People's Commissar, the ambassador urged him not to rake up the past, but to think of new ways. The Soviet representative linked agreement to consider such ways to a precondition - satisfactory explanations on three counts: the "anti-Comintern pact," German backing for aggressive activities by Japan, and attempts to exclude the U.S.S.R. from international relations.

On August 4, Schulenburg reported to Berlin that the U.S.S.R. was "fully resolved to reach agreement with Britain and France." In a cable to Weizsäcker on August 14, he added that securing an end to German support for Japan was at the

moment the Soviet Union's highest priority. The ambassador backed up his conclusion by citing appraisals given by "a staff member of the usually very well-informed American embassy in Moscow."

British representatives, in the meantime, were unhurriedly sailing to Leningrad on a cargo and passenger steamer to join French colleagues for a semblance of "military talks." Those negotiations went ahead in Moscow on August 12 and it was at once discovered that the leader of the French delegation, General Joseph Doumenc, had the authority only to exchange opinions, while the leader of the British delegation, Admiral Drax, had come without any powers at all. But he had orders telling him that **the British government was unwilling to assume any specific obligations that would tie its hands in those or other circumstances and that therefore he should seek to reduce the military agreement to the most general formulations.**

Schulenburg wired Berlin that "it has become known from a British source that the military missions' instructions have from the very beginning been to drag their feet in Moscow and, if this proves possible, to continue to **mark time till October.**" Marking time, while knowing for sure that war would break out not later than September.

The sessions on August 13 and 14 made it plain that the British and the French had neither their own plans for practical military cooperation nor a desire to examine in a businesslike manner Soviet-suggested options for giving military aid to Poland and Romania in the event of a German attack on them. After meeting with the Soviet delegation on August 14, Admiral Drax said his view was that the Western delegations' mission was over.

For the Soviet Union it was important to prevent a war on two fronts: with Japan, fighting with whose armed forces at the time was already in full swing, and with Germany, whose military juggernaut was primed for combat. It was imperative to frustrate British schemes to provoke us into a clash with the Third Reich, while at the same time thwart Hitler's hopes to get the Soviet side involved in a conflict with the democracies. It was essential to show Washington as well as London that the U.S.S.R. was not doomed to sail in the wake of others and was not going to be a cat's paw to anyone.

On August 13 the Germans were informed through the U.S.S.R. embassy in Berlin of our consent to engage in "stage-by-stage discussions of economic and other issues." On August 14, Schulenburg received instructions to convey to Molotov a proposal to begin talks and tell him that Hitler would like to send Ribbentrop to Moscow with that aim.

The ambassador did so on August 15. According to the German minutes of the meeting, Molotov was reserved about the idea of Ribbentrop's visit ("needs to be prepared in advance") and did not give a substantive reply to any of the questions raised by Schulenburg. The People's Commissar asked at the same time how much truth there was in the information brought to Moscow's notice in late June through Italian Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano, that the Germans were disposed to influence Japan on terms for improving Japanese-Soviet relations and putting an end to "border conflicts" and also to offer a non-aggression pact to the U.S.S.R. and grant joint guarantees to the Baltic nations.

On August 16, Schulenburg received instructions (which he carried out the following day) to tell the People's Commissar that Germany was prepared : a) to sign a 25-year non-aggression pact; b) to give the Baltic states joint guarantees with the U.S.S.R.; and c) to use its influence to get relations between Japan and the U.S.S.R. "improved and consolidated." "With regard to the situation taking shape," Ribbentrop expressed a wish to arrive in Moscow with comprehensive powers to discuss the whole gamut of issues and, if possible, sign agreements.

Molotov put the onus for the strained relationship between the two countries squarely on Germany. It was Berlin's posture, he told the ambassador during their meeting, that had compelled the U.S.S.R. to take defensive measures in the face of possible aggression and to share in efforts by a number of countries to build up a defensive front against such aggression. If the German government now intended to depart from its former policy and move towards serious improvements in relations with the U.S.S.R., this change could only be hailed. The Soviet government, for its part, was prepared to review its policy concerning Germany. A first step could be made by signing a trade and crediting agreement. A second could be the conclusion of a non-aggression pact or a reaffirmation of the 1926 treaty of neutrality. Apropos of Ribbentrop coming to Moscow, Molotov repeated that "a visit by the Imperial Minister needs to be thoroughly prepared."

On August 18, Berlin ordered its ambassador by any means to make certain that he would be received at the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs without delay to convince the Soviet side of the need for Ribbentrop's visit. Schulenburg was instructred to set forth an outline of a non-aggression pact and emphasize that the minister would arrive with the authority to sign it.

Molotov received Schulenburg a day later. The People's Commissar said that if a trade agreement was signed on August 20, the Soviet side would agree to Ribbentrop's arrival on August 26 or 27. Molotov expressed the opinion that the text of the non-aggression pact should conform to standard treaty-making practice.

**(to be concluded)**

Nicaragua was the first to set up a national reconciliation commission made up of the Republic's Vice-President Sergio Ramirez, General Secretary of the People's Social Christian Party Mauricio Diaz, independent public figure Gustavo Parajon and their four deputies. Cardinal Obando-y-Bravo was appointed, by government decree, Chairman of the Commission.

The commission will monitor the implementation of the Guatemala agreement, which provides for a ceasefire, the holding of free elections, the strict observance of guaranteed political and civil liberties, and an amnesty.

At a press conference immediately after the penultimate meeting of the commission, Vice-President Sergio Ramirez announced that the government intended gradually to implement the Guatemala agreement in advance of November 7, the date the commitments made by the Central American states came into force. The government of Nicaragua has invited the leaders of the opposition parties to take part in the national dialogue (started on October 5) to facilitate the process of democratization. The government has lifted the ban on the operation of Radio Catolica as well as on that of the opposition newspaper La Prensa. The Nicaraguan authorities have taken a decision to halt the military operations of the Sandinist People's Army against the contra groups in some parts of the country.

What was the response on the part of the contras and their patrons? The leaders of the armed counterrevolution issued a statement in the capital of Honduras that they would agree to a ceasefire provided it was the result of direct negotiations between themselves and the Sandinists. Siding with this demand, President Reagan said that no one would accept a Sandinist unilateral ceasefire.

In return for abiding by the accords stipulated by the Guatemala agreement, the government of Nicaragua is demanding a simultaneous cut-off of U.S. aid to the contras, their withdrawal from Honduras and their agreement to the terms of the amnesty.

This issue has been dominating the Nicaraguan press. There is a law in Nicaragua according to which persons involved in counterrevolutionary activities may, upon surrendering arms, resume normal life without losing political and civil rights. This law does not apply to those taken prisoner during battle or arrested by the security forces for terrorist offences.

The governments of Guatemala and El Salvador have also set up national reconciliation commissions. The Fara-

# Peace pipe or war path?

**Without waiting for November 7, the target date set by the Guatemalan agreement of the five presidents, the Sandinists have begun its implementation.**

bundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador have once again spoken in support of constructive negotiations to stop the bloodshed in that country. But the Duarte regime is creating artificial obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement, by demanding that the insurgents surrender arms before the negotiations begin. However, the leaders of the National Liberation Front - the Revolutionary Democratic Front assert that "a Nicaraguan solution" cannot be applied in El Salvador. Nicaragua is confronting U.S. aggression. In their opinion, the situation in El Salvador is different. The conflict here is rooted in social and economic injustice, the system of oppression, and in repressive authorities. The National Liberation Front - the Revolutionary Democratic Front operate exclusively within their own country, relying only on their own resources, enjoying authority and recognition both at home and abroad.

The government of Costa Rica has also announced plans to set up a national reconciliation commission, even though Costa Rica is free of internal conflict. Honduras is the only country in the region whose government has decided not to establish such a commission.

An important factor for a settlement in Central America is the massive support of the Guatemala agreement by Latin American countries. At their meeting in Caracas the representatives of the Contadora group, the Support group and the Central American countries formed an international commission to monitor the implementation of the Guatemala accords. Its members, the deputy foreign ministers of the Contadora group have held a joint session in Managua with members of the Executive Commission made up of the foreign ministers of the five Central American states whose presidents have signed the Guatemala accords.

"Peace has been signed, but the U.S. war against Nicaragua continues," Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega said. "The implementation of the agreement between the five presidents constantly comes up against Washington's stubborn resistance. In spite of the fact that the White House 'welcomed' - lip-deep - the results of the meeting in Guatemala, once the meeting was over, the State Department called in the U.S. ambassadors in the Central American countries and, according to a Wall Street Journal report, pointed out that U.S. interests in the region are more important than any agreements.

The United States is obviously impatient to provide the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries with maximum military aid before the current fiscal year expires. Recently, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and subsequently President Reagan announced that the White House intended to ask Congress for an allocation of 270 million dollars for the armed Somoza bands.

It is significant that new allocations for the Somozists planned by the U.S. administration are to be phased over a period of 18 months. In other words, if the present administration gets the bill through Congress, the contras will be receiving U.S. aid even after a likely replacement of the White House incumbent.

Meanwhile the House of Representatives voted for the allocation of 3.5 million dollars to the Nicaraguan contras for "humanitarian purposes."

At Augusto C. Sandino international airport, I had an opportunity to ask Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega a question.

"Comandante Ortega, what do you think about the White House intention to earmark more than 270 million dollars for aid to the contras?"

"The intention of the Reagan administration to ask Congress for more financial support for the Somozists is a blatant provocation and an attempt to sabotage the Guatemala agreement," replied the Nicaraguan leader. "Washington's actions mean that it rejects the sovereign decisions jointly adopted by the governments of the Central American states, and amount to open contempt for their right to self-determination and independence.

"The Nicaraguan government will continue to expose the U.S. conspiracy against the cause of peace in Central America. At the same time, we intend to work hard for the implementation of the Guatemala accords and carry out measures conducive to the achievement of this goal. We hope the countries of the region will do likewise," the President emphasized.

**SERGEI GORBUNOV**

Managua, September

**President of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega and Republican Senator Robert Dole, leader of a group of U.S. Congressmen who visited Managua.**

TASS photo

# ARE THERE LIMITS TO GLASNOST?

Professor ANATOLY BUTENKO, **D.Sc. (Philosophy)**

Everybody today is talking about democracy and discussing glasnost (openness).

If you look around you, you will see that today the frontiers of democracy and glasnost in Soviet society have been greatly extended.

But you will also notice something else: many people, especially in the wake of the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee in January and June 1987, have come to ask why it was not the case before.

This is not accidental. Even now that people are still getting used to new practices, to openness voices are heard which warn that our democracy is not "boundless" and glasnost is not a synonym for permissiveness. Of course, our democracy and glasnost in their present form are young and inexperienced, and one can only thank those well-meaning people who warn us about the problems, complexities and dangers.

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But this is not the main point. We should be mindful of the fact that some people have for many years been trying hard to prevent socialist democracy and openness from "going too far," people who feel upset or alarmed by any further step towards democracy and regard the slightest intrusion of glasnost into previously taboo areas as anathema.

If you take a closer look at those who guard the limits to democracy and glasnost, they usually fall into one of two categories.

First of all, there are those who have a personal stake in preventing glasnost. This includes those people (among workers and peasants, intellectuals and the party and administrative apparatus) who would not like the truth to be known about how diligently a person works and whether he lives within his means, whether he lives an honest and decent life, and whether his authority is earned. Glasnost and democracy put everyone in their places and show who is who and what everyone is worth. There are a good many people who would like to go on concealing all this.

It is sometimes suggested that limits should be set to glasnost. This is a clear sign that there are people who are unhappy about it. But is it not precisely the aim of glasnost and democracy to make things difficult for those who live immorally and unlawfully, and bring to light those who put their personal interests above everything?

Such advocates of restricted glasnost are unhappy about the extension of glasnost and democracy. Their selfish interests make them think that life was better under the former set-up because "there was less empty talk," because the "unnecessary talk" and the "excesses of democracy and glasnost" tend to bring out facts that they would like to remain in the shadows.

Another group of people who are dismayed by wider glasnost and democracy are those whose job it is to inform the broad public. From time to time one hears these people complain that they are "tired of glasnost and frankness."

One would have thought that workers in the mass media, and teachers and lecturers in social sciences should be among the first to advocate glasnost, which is the only way to dispel the mistrust Soviet people have developed in the lean "diet" offered to them in the recent past, when circulations of newspapers and magazines were falling and interest in social problems was on the decline. This is certainly true, but for the people in question democracy and glasnost is not an abstract problem but a matter of daily practical work, involving a good deal of heart-searching and painful decisions about what to say and what not to say, what to print and what not to print. Teachers and editors look back over their shoulders, wondering how their approach to glasnost will be assessed and how this will affect their position and career. No wonder some of them feel "tired." No wonder it seems to some that broad glasnost is a temporary campaign which can be sat out.

This is a profound delusion. Mikhail Gorbachev said recently: "The Political Bureau are convinced that openness is a normal state of society. Without openness we won't be able to accomplish anything. Glasnost, criticism and self-criticism permeated with concern for the common cause are of direct relevance to the health and the moral atmosphere of society. The preservation of this atmosphere, which includes democracy, glasnost, criticism and openness, sound judgments and responsible debate, all this should be the norm in the existence and functioning of society."

So those who are too tired of glasnost and openness should think hard and ask themselves: perhaps I should take a rest?

When, in assessing democracy and glasnost, people are guided not by knowledge and reason but by convenience and habit, let alone engrained bad habits, they cannot understand why Soviet society cannot go on as before or why we need more socialism, more democracy and glasnost than our society had yesterday.

**GLASNOST AND DEMOCRACY PUT EVERYONE IN THEIR PLACES AND SHOW WHO IS WHO AND WHAT EVERYONE IS WORTH.**

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But what are democracy and glasnost? How are they interconnected and interdependent?

Democracy is that form of state that recognizes the equal right of all citizens to take part in running public affairs. The recognition of this equal right for all citizens and its realization are not the same thing. The real rights and duties in managing public affairs are

distributed among different members of society, the managers and the managed. The extension of democracy means that these general functions pass to the working masses, whose rights are extended. This makes for more democratic government.

Glasnost is that conduct of public affairs that is open and accessible to all citizens, who are informed of all the social problems that affect them. When we talk of wider glasnost this does not mean that social life and its facts and phenomena have been extended. This is a matter of the growth of society and not of glasnost.

The extension of glasnost means that a growing number of people are informed by the administrators on an ever broader range of social problems, while restriction of glasnost means that the administrators conceal certain facts, phenomena and processes from society, from the people, from their subordinates.

Democracy and glasnost are closely linked. It can be said that glasnost is a sister of democracy, its prerequisite and sine qua non, for there can be no genuine democracy without glasnost. Moreover, the emasculation of democracy, restriction or cancelling of the right of all citizens to take part in public affairs often begins with the restriction of glasnost.

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One of the silently held beliefs of some administrators is to monopolize information, to make a secret of their administrative activities and to deprive the people they govern of the most basic knowledge in their field.

This on its own deepens the inequalities between the managers and the managed, because, first, the managers have the information and can judge everything (an opportunity denied to the managed because they have no such information). Secondly, only the managers can make decisions on public affairs, which the managed cannot do if only because of lack of information; thirdly, this situation makes it impossible for the managed to assess, let alone dispute, the decisions of the managers. Lack of glasnost means lack of control. This strengthens the position of the administrators and widens the gulf between them and their subordinates.

Clearly, any withholding of the truth by the administration, even the slightest restriction of glasnost, i.e., the hiding of certain facts by officials, already constitutes a violation of democracy and political inequality between those who have information and those who have not; society is inevitably divided into those who can have an opinion and therefore make decisions and assess other decisions, and those who have no such opportunity. In that case, there is no question of government by the masses or self-government.

It is evident that glasnost in socialist society is closely linked with the problem of criticism and self-criticism and with the problem of government and self-government. A conclusion can be drawn and a constructive proposal made only if the necessary information is available and people are aware of the decisions made and the real state of affairs. Without glasnost sound initiative, activity and self-government are impossible.

It is not hard to imagine the damage (and not just moral damage) which fear of glasnost, concealment of the truth and withholding of the true state of affairs from the masses have caused and are still causing Soviet socialist society, the state of affairs in this or that national republic or area or enterprise.

This does not only preclude an objective and balanced assessment of the existing situation, but cuts off the wellspring of popular creativity, ingenuity and resourcefulness which is far more powerful and wise than the most competent and considered decisions administrators may take behind closed doors.

Needless to say, glasnost can be used by dishonest people for misinformation, mud-slinging and slander. Such facts have been reported in our press.

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This brings us to the question: should democracy and glasnost in socialist society be without limits?

The answer is no. There are limits. No one would deny that today's boundaries of democracy and glasnost are much broader than in the 1970s and incomparably broader than during the Stalin cult.

**GLASNOST IS THAT CONDUCT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS THAT IS OPEN TO ALL CITIZENS, WHO ARE INFORMED OF ALL!**

What do the boundaries of democracy and glasnost depend on? Who sets them?

It would be wrong to say that these boundaries have always depended only on objective conditions, that is, on the level of the country's social and economic development. In 1917-24, during Lenin's lifetime, when Soviet society was only beginning its transition from capitalism to socialism, the boundaries of democracy and glasnost were much broader than in the late 1930s when the foundations of socialism had been created through revolutionary transformations. It is equally true that these boundaries were broader after the 20th Congress of the CPSU than in the 1970s.

So these boundaries were determined not only by the socio-economic circumstances. They were greatly influenced by the subjective factor, the deliberate policy of the leaders. Is there an objective criterion to determine the required framework and to assess the boundaries to democracy and glasnost at other periods in history?

The following can be said by way of reply. Both the boundaries of democracy and the boundaries of glasnost in socialist society are determined by one common criterion: everything is permitted that serves the interests of socialism and its progress, the interests of the working people in the concrete conditions of the country's development.

This is of course a very general criterion. While obviously correct, it looks vague and does not provide an answer to the practical questions that arise in this or that sphere of democracy and glasnost. But this is the very essence of such a criterion: it should be general enough to allow it to be used to reject any attempts to exploit our democracy and our glasnost against socialism, against the working people. At the same time the criterion should not be too specific to prevent it from erecting barriers and imposing bans and taboos wherever and whenever we need a concrete and balanced approach to the use fo democracy and glasnost.

The CPSU calls for a broader and deeper use of glasnost and democracy in accordance with the requirement: more socialism, more socialist democracy. Socialism has been chosen by the whole Soviet people and it is impossible to reveal and use all the potential and advantages of socialism without glasnost and democracy.

Soviet socialist democracy, born seventy years ago in the Revolution of 1917, is living through a period of profound renewal. The extension of glasnost and the establishment of self-government of the people are the key elements in this process of renewal.

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# THE FIRST SPUTNIK

**Not many of them are left. The people who after long sleepless nights and intense work stood on a wind-swept field in Baikonur in Kazakhstan on that October day. They were increadibly happy and absolutely exhausted. They had made it. The first Soviet earth satellite was in orbit. Among those people was Vasily Mishin, who was first assistant to chief designer Sergei Korolyov between 1946 and 1966 and succeeded him on his death.**

**Our correspondent asked Academician Vasily Mishin, Hero of Socialist Labour, Lenin and State prizes winner, to share his impressions about those historic days.**

On October 4, 1957, I was on the launching site preparing the rocket for launching. I headed the team of experts responsible for calculating the trajectory and ballistics.

We worked like mad, racing against the clock. We were anxious to be the first. We were thrilled with the excitement of competition. The year 1957 had been proclaimed International Geophysical Year. The Americans had announced they were going to orbit an artificial earth satellite under their Vanguard programme. We were preparing our own satellite, weighing about a ton and a half, while the Americans were going to launch a vehicle weighing ten kilograms.

But we were clearly lagging behind. We had the satellite practically ready but the instruments with which to "stuff" it had yet to be built. The instrument builders were about a year behind schedule. Then Korolyov suggested that we launch a simple sputnik (satellite) with the instruments that were available. It was called PS-1 (the abbreviation for the Russian words Simple Sputnik). It weighed 83.6 kilograms, and was 58 cm in diameter.

**How did you feel when you heard the first beeps from the sputnik in orbit?**

I felt tired. It was only later that the significance of the achievement hit me. Incidentally, if you read Soviet newspapers for October 5, 1957, you will find only a brief news item reporting the launch. However, on October 6, the sputnik hit the headlines.

**What happened next?**

Nothing dramatic. Sergei Korolyov sent us for a rest in the Crimea. But we did not bask in the sun for long. Several days later he telephoned us: "Get back quick. We have an assignment to orbit a second sputnik."

We returned to Baikonur and on November 3 launched the second sputnik. It weighed 505.3 kilograms and was more sophisticated than the first. And, as you probably know, it carried a passenger on board, the dog Laika. We had experimented with single-stage rockets before PS-1. Some of them carried dogs. So it was not much of a problem to mount a cabin with the dog Laika into PS-2.

**What kind of rocket was used in the first launches?**

We used an ordinary intercontinental ballistic rocket called R-7 or simply The Seven.

It was part of Korolyov's genius that he was able to discern the possibilities of the peaceful use of combat rockets.

**Did you have to redesign the rocket?**

Very little. It was designed to carry a combat load of 5-6 tons. By decreasing the payload we increased "the Tsiolkovsky number," hence the velocity. R-7 had a speed of 7 kilometres per second. To put a sputnik into orbit it had to have a speed of 800 metres per second. This was achieved by reducing the load.

The rocket developed such a thrust that the second stage went into orbit together with PS-1. Although the sputnik was detached from it, for a while they flew side by side. The second stage could be seen from the earth with the naked eye. Often it was seen before the sputnik. In the case of PS-2 it was decided not to detach the second stage at all.

**Are combat rockets used for peaceful launches today?**

No. The makers of military rockets and civilian space rockets quickly diverged in their research. This was due to some objective as well as subjective and political reasons. The military need small rockets which can be hidden in silos or transported by rail to minimize their vulnerability.

In space exploration we need to obrit increasingly heavy payloads. So we need more and more powerful rockets. For example, the American "Saturn C-5" used in the Apollo programme was a huge rocket. The first and second stages could only be transported on special barges. The transported module on the Space Shuttle is ten metres in diametre and forty metres long. Our "Energy" is also impressive in size.

**Let's go back to the early satellites. How did it come about that the Soviet Union, which had just recovered from a devastating war, managed to outstrip the U.S., a great scientific and technological power.**

Let us recall the time when it happened. It was at the height of the cold war. We were encircled by war bases in Europe, Asia, the Arab East, Alaska and Japan. These bases had nuclear-capable bombers. We had no choice but to try to achieve strategic parity. For this, we had to make the U.S. vulnerable to our missiles. And we achieved it against all the odds.

But I repeat that while we were fulfilling military orders, we were thinking of civilian exploration. Back in 1953, when R-7 was still on the drawing boards, we

**Yuri Gagarin addressing a formal meeting of rocket-builders in 1963. Right to left: Sergei Korolyov, Vasily Mishin. This photo from Mishin's private archives has never been published before.**

realized that it would be a dual-purpose rocket, and started to design the first sputnik.

**What was expected of the first launches? What problems were posed?**

We began from scratch. What is weightlessness? What is near space? We did not know. We even had no exact data on the density of the atmosphere above 60 kilometres. The density depends on the time of year, the month and the time of day. It is affected by many factors and in turn has to be taken into account in orbiting spacecraft.

It was not until we had launched the first sputnik - you remember it was spherical in shape - that we were able to measure the density of the upper atmosphere from the changes in orbit and changes in the deceleration velocity. We calculated and thought and decided that we could launch a heavier sputnik. Then followed the sputnik with the dog Laika on board. Observations showed that a living organism can withstand prolonged weightlessness with relative ease. The third sputnik measured the earth's magnetic field...and so on.

**Did the idea of putting a man into orbit come to you immediately after Laika's flight?**

No, long before it. It was Sergei Korolyov's long-standing dream, the dream of his life, to put a man in space. Whatever he was doing, Korolyov thought about it constantly.

**The space era is thirty years old. Do you think everything has been right in this field?**

All the space equipment we launch has to be more sophisticated and, hence, more costly. But we should not go on making replicas in metal. Skilled experts must be able to assess the new space hardware while it is still on the drawing boards. At a certain period in the past we had three different organizations working to develop the same costly and heavy machine, of which one was chosen. This was very wasteful.

Sometimes it happened that we were set unrealistic deadlines. As a result we failed to meet them and projects were unjustifiably cancelled.

**Does this also account for the human casualties?**

Not only that. Accidents have always happened. Komarov, for example, had the same parachute system as his predecessors, from Gagarin on. And it failed. Dobrovolsky, Patsayev and Volkov had well-tested pyrotechnical cartridges.

Before sending people into space, many automatic systems are launched to test this or that new gadget. But sometimes it is impossible to run through a whole situation on the ground. The element of risk always remains.

Let me stress that but for Korolyov's determination, and his habit of making a meticulous check of the spaceships himself, I don't think anyone would have had the guts to put people into orbit, given the technology of the time. I for one wouldn't have dared to.

**How do you see the future development of space exploration and rocketry?**

First, the exploration of near space. This requires peace on earth and a planned, wide-scale and concerted international effort.

The space between the earth and the moon has to be thoroughly explored. What does that mean?

We need powerful one-mission carrier rockets which can deliver huge payloads into orbit. We shall also need reusable systems. The further we go into space, the more freight will have to be carried back and forth, and the more uses there will be for reusable systems.

**Something along the lines of the American Space Shuttle?**

No, I don't think the Shuttle quite fills the bill. Huge vehicles of this kind for carrying freight and passengers do not have much of a future. They have a crew of six. When such a vehicle is launched from Cape Canaveral in an easterly direction, it normally orbits 105 tons and the payload is a mere 29 tons. There is too much extra weight. The Shuttle will never be economical for small cargoes. If it makes 50 flights its operation will be economical, but what if it makes only ten? Then rockets are cheaper. We put our loads into orbit by automats. For example, with the help of the Progress spaceship which is, incidentally, much cheaper.

At this point, we need reusable vehicles for people, something like a space taxi-cab, cheap and reliable.

**What can we expect to see in the foreseeable future?**

Given sufficient power supplies, we can ensure worldwide communications of any kind. We can create world information centres in various fields of knowledge.

Space navigation systems will help steer ships in the ocean. That means great economy because to this day ships do not follow optimal routes, which results in fuel wastage.

Besides, we must save our planet from pollution. Kinds of production that generate pollution should be put into outer space in the shape of automatic production complexes. The problem of harmful wastes is already assuming a sinister character. A container wish wastes could be put into orbit and then boosted far beyond the solar system.

Through space we could control production in remote areas of difficult access. It would be unnecessary to transport raw materials over thousands of kilometres. Automatic plants could be built near mineral deposits and controlled, say, from Moscow, through satellites.

**Space plants and a worldwide space communication system are very tempting things, but that is a matter for the future. Meanwhile there are so many problems here on earth that one wonders if we should spend billions of rubles on space exploration. Would it not be better to attend to the problems here on earth?**

These problems can't be solved without outer space. Take for example communications. I remember the following incident. A communication satellite had served its term. And there was a hitch in orbiting the next one. You can't imagine the alarm this caused. We received cables which said, if you have no money in Moscow we'll raise money in Siberia but give us normal telephone and television communications.

There is also the energy shortage to be considered. It was not for nothing that Tsiolkovsky said that solar energy was given us for free. In space the possibilities for obtaining energy are much greater than on earth. It is almost realistic now to create solar plants in space. It is much more difficult to trasmit electricity to earth. So energy-intensive industries will have to be transferred to outer space.

I think the study of materials in space will continue. Crystallization processes go much better in weightlessness. It has been proved experimentally that it is possible to obtain materials in space which cannot be produced on earth. We already have some "space" drugs. Commercial production will in time become a reality.

**Doesn't space exploration, especially rocket launches, cause any damage to the ozone layer, for instance? One often hears people complain: "They've made holes in the atmosphere, so the harvests are low."**

Such people should be told that there are as yet very few such "holes," and that they close quickly. Think of all the pollution from power stations, plants and transport. This is a real danger.

**But won't irreparable damage be done when space is developed in a big way?**

No, it is nothing compared with the pollution released today. What is really dangerous is for the world to commit itself to the increased military use of outer space. The thought that I was involved in building the first military rockets sometimes makes me shudder. Still, I hope that reason will prevail.

**My last question: What is the most important thing that should enable our country to solve the tasks you have outlined?**

Realistic and competent planning which, even at the planning stage, takes into account not only the basic scientific and experimental tasks, but provides for practical work that would benefit the national economy. The numerous departmental and bureaucratic barriers have to be removed. There must be someone responsible for the whole enterprise. Outer space must even now be put to practical uses. This is in the national interest and in the interests of the whole of mankind.

**Interviewer: EVGENY ANDRIANOV**

# Time for resolute measures

**The National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic has approved a programme of economic stabilization in the country.**

FERENC VARNAI, Hungarian journalist

In November 1986 and July 1987 the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party made a deep and self-critical analysis of the problems and difficulties that had accumulated in the country's economy over many years. And now the Central Committee has worked out urgent measures for economic stabilization. I would like to note at once certain important personnel changes in July. Thus, Karoly Grosz, a member of the Political Bureau of the HSWP Central Committee, was appointed to the post of head of government, a post of special importance in implementing this programme.

Over the past several weeks the government has worked very hard to draw up a concrete programme of activity in the light of the directives approved by the HSWP Central Committee. Measures were taken, before submitting the programme for consideration by the National Assembly, to reflect the views and proposals of the most competent scientists, economists and engineers, as well as those of the various organizations that protect the interests of the working masses. The government also involved the deputies of the National Assembly in the work of drafting the programme as they were to adopt a decision on it at their session on September 16-19.

## Not all the measures are popular

The agenda included a whole number of measures which, frankly speaking, were not popular. For example, the restriction of consumption and a resultant decline in living standards in the coming three to four years. The period of the economy's stabilization will extend at least until 1990. During this time the government will be compelled to cut consumption by 6 per cent, raise the level of prices in 1988 by 14-15 per cent, but even in 1989 and 1990 the growth of prices will be in the region of 7-9 per cent.

As for wages, their growth will lag considerably behind these figures. (In 1988 it will only be possible to increase wages and salaries in the country by an average 3 per cent and on a differentiated basis at that, i.e., in dynamic and important branches of the national economy, at individual enterprises which perform well, the growth of earnings may exceed 3 per cent while at enterprises operating at a loss the increase will be less than 3 per cent).

What compelled the government to come up with these proposals that will painfully affect the whole of society?

The scientific and technological revolution over the past ten years has changed the ratio of prices and had a negative effect on the Hungarian economy, which sells almost half its national product on foreign markets. As a result our external gross debt in convertible currency reached 16 billion dollars and the net debt exceeded 9 billion dollars, this being more than double the value of Hungary's annual export in terms of convertible currency.

We will not be able to achieve the aims set by the 7th five-year plan , which began last year - to overcome the growing debt by increasing production - because the increment in imports, which in 1985 and 1986 again exceeded exports, did not promote technical development and thereby the greater competitiveness of our products and the growth of export funds.

Hungarian industry has retained its obsolete production structure; there has been practically no rise in economic efficiency; product quality has shown no dramatic improvement, while energy intensity and material consumption remain as high as ever. Neither has the efficiency of centralized economic management grown to the necessary degree. The independence of enterprises has not yet become what it should be.

There are also numerous lapses in the labour discipline and organization that are so necessary in economic life. Yet spending by the population and the incomes of enterprises have continued to grow. The state budget deficit has reached 30-35 billion forints. Addressing parliament, Janos Kadar said: "We have always fulfilled spending plans indeed, we have almost always overfulfilled them. But this cannot be said about revenue. In the end we consume and allocate for various purposes more than we have actually earned. Years have passed in this way, and it is plain that this is the weak link in our system. This practice cannot continue."

One of the main reasons for the present state of affairs is that all this time we have failed to assess the situation soberly. The measures taken during the reform of economic management were either half-hearted (we demanded changes but at the same time did not want the inevitable temporary privations), or insufficiently thought through.

People expect us to act more resolute against undesirable phenomena. In recent years significant sections of the population have experienced a decline in their living standards, for the most part through no fault of their own, while a comparatively small section, whose contribution to social production is minimal in comparison with their incomes, lived well, sometimes indeed extremely well.

## Ways and means

What is the essence of the measures intended to prepare the ground for stabilization and welfare?

1. First of all, it is necessary to accelerate changes in the structure of industry. It should be more compatible with the demands of the world market and the specific character of our country, and facilitate the increased output of modern products which can be sold profitably on the convertible currency market in order to halt the growth of indebtedness.

This requires the development of the food industry to improve supplies to the population and increase exports, as well as the manufacturing industry, which should make more effective use of the results of national scientific and technological progress and be oriented towards material- and energy-saving technologies. As distinct from the existing practice, we must satisfy our needs in terms of imported goods to a greater extent on the socialist market, and also increase our exports to that market.

2. It is extremely important to consolidate order and discipline, and undeviatingly and everywhere observe the principle of remuneration for work done. The forced restrictions should be applied more stringently to people who lack discipline and do not exert themselves in work, while the real incomes of collectives, enterprises, managers and office employees who are making a substantial contribution to the national economy should not decline or, if they do, less significantly. In 1988 the government will work out a new reform of wages, which will act as an incentive to working people to take more pride in the end result.

Turnover tax and individual income tax, adopted at the last session of parliament and entering into force as from January 1, 1988, should serve to ensure a more just distribution of the tax burden. The new system of taxation will help determine the production performance of enterprises more precisely. On the other hand, it will ensure that everybody makes his contribu-

tion in shouldering the tax burden in proportion to his income.

3. The drive for structural changes and efficient production will bring about a situation where enterprises or production shops that operate at a loss, or are of negligible importance from the viewpoint of state interests, will have to be restricted in their operations or closed down altogether.

The country's leadership and the trade unions are working to ensure that the redeployment of manpower required by the national economy will not threaten the stability of the social position of wage and salary earners. People are being helped in the search for new jobs, the basis of a new employment policy is being worked out and allocations are being provided for job-hunters and people undergoing retraining. Social security policy is also being updated. Special assistance will be given to large families, the pension system will be improved next year and additional measures are to be taken to provide young people with housing.

## What are the guarantees?

The tasks before us, as we see, are no easy ones. What are the guarantees that they will be carried out?

State and cooperative ownership continues to form the backbone of our economic system. A flourishing economy can only be achieved on this firm foundation, with the inclusion in the process of individual and various forms of small-scale public ownership. Then there is yet another condition: socialist planned economic management should be effected with due account taken of the laws of a reasonably organized market, by way of consistently implementing economic reforms and developing forms of socialist ownership.

It is also extremely important to increase our participation in the international division of labour on the basis of greater mutually advantageous cooperation within the framework of CMEA or on a bilateral basis with socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

Last, but not least, we want to modernize the system of management. The reforms and radical changes now under way in the U.S.S.R. are of great interest to us Hungarians from this point of view.

The very candid speech by the head of the Hungarian government, the open discussion in the National Assembly and the deputies' unanimous support for the government stabilization programme met with a positive response from the overwhelming majority of Hungarians. I must admit, however, that in our country there also exist forces which are not concerned about the future of the country but interested only in the satisfaction of their personal ambitions. These are those whose philosophical credo is "the worse the better." But their dreams will never come true.

Budapest

CHINA

# A demographic pendulum

**In mid-1987 our planet's population reached five billion. China has been the world's most populous country through the centuries, or rather through the millennia, and remains so to this day. Its present population is one billion 60 million. The P.R.C.'s short-term food, drinking water and electricity requirements have been calculated recently as part of the national birth-rate reduction campaign, launched in 1979. Some details of the campaign are discussed in the article that follows.**

China has always accounted for more than a fifth of the planet's population. In 1949, for instance, when the People's Republic of China was formed, its population was 540 million as against the world's total of two billion 400 million.

By age-old tradition, most Chinese families were large; the more sons born into a family, the luckier it considered itself as on getting married the sons brought in extra help - their wives.

Sons guaranteed their parents a secure old age. "A home keeps you warm, and a son provides for you," an old saying went. As for daughters, they moved to their husbands' homes and were not relied upon by their parents for support.

After the formation of the P.R.C., population growth was favoured by the demographic policy of the then Chinese leaders. Every person who came of age was regarded as a worker, first and foremost, and a current slogan ran: "The more hands we have, the more we shall produce and accumulate." Such factors as the relative scarcity of fertile land and energy sources and overall economic backwardness were not taken into consideration. The early state plans emphasized general production targets while leaving the population growth rate out of account.

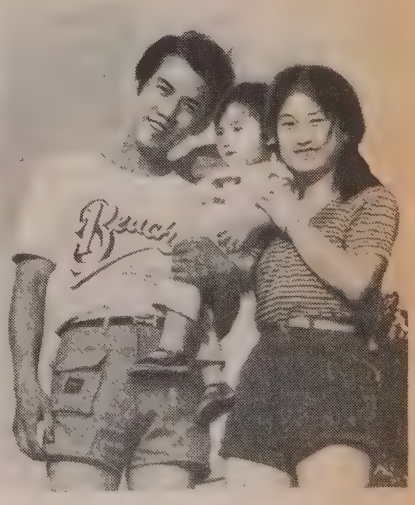
Since the early sixties, the birth-rate curve has begun to climb up steeply, with the annual increase in population amounting to 20-25 million for twelve years at a stretch. The period of the "cultural revolution" (1966-76) and a few subsequent years saw births reach an all-time high. Experts predict that as many as 62 million girls - those born during the "cultural revolution," in the period of a demographic explosion - will marry before the end of 1990.

## Benefits and sanctions

The P.R.C.'s leaders are increasingly concerned about the rapid growth of the population. Government bodies are linking socio-economic development plans with family planning programmes to an ever greater extent. Bringing population growth under control has been announced a crucial task. The "one family, one child" slogan has been proclaimed. Towards the end of the current century it is intended that the country's population will not

**The "one family, one child" slogan has been proclaimed in China as part of a birth control campaign.**

From Newsweek (U.S.A.)



exceed one billion 200 million. Specific measures have been worked out to this end.

Married couples that fail to observe the "one family, one child" principle are fined, with the money deducted from their wages. "Offenders" are relegated to the bottom of the waiting list for housing. If a couple has more than one child, the "supernumerary" ones may be barred from kindergarten or even from a school, and are discriminated against in admittance to higher educational institutions. Parents who have violated the one-child principle even risk losing their jobs.

Abortions and the sterilization of both men and women are encouraged as means of birth-rate reduction. Chinese papers have admitted that in some parts of China there have been cases of women being compelled to terminate a pregnancy, even in the later stages.

On the other hand, married couples who abide by the "one family, one child" principle are entitled to all kinds of benefit. They receive a monthly five-yuan bonus until their child reaches the age of 14, and a five per cent rise in their pension. They are given preference in receiving housing and a place at kindergarten. One-child peasant families have the size of their domestic plot increased.

The nationwide campaign with its stimuli, sanctions and propaganda pressures has yielded certain results. In 1985 alone, births decreased by 610,000.

## A new peak

Nevertheless, it has transpired in China recently that the family planning policy is suffering serious setbacks. According to Renmin ribao, the net increment of the population exceeded the planned figure by 1,680,000 and came to 14 million. The paper concludes that unless urgent measures are taken, the country's population will be eight million in excess of the desirable level in 1990. In this case the 1.2 billion mark proposed for the end of the century will be considerably overshot.

Chinese experts are of the opinion that the P.R.C. has entered another period of demographic explosion which will last throughout the seventh five-year period (1986-90). "No citizen of the P.R.C. has the right to forget," the newspaper Zhongguo fazhi bao points out, "that nearly forty babies are born in the country every minute."

The new dramatic rise in births in the P.R.C. is explained in particular by easing up on birth control. This is especially true of the countryside. If a daughter is born into a family, the latter may easily secure the village authorities' permission to start another baby on the off-chance that it may turn out to be a boy. "Peasants say," the Zhongguo fazhi bao points out, "that for as long as they are not shot for it they will have many children." The restrictions have practically been lifted as far as the families belonging to national minorities are concerned. The rising living standard in the countryside provides an extra incentive to having "above-plan" babies. Many city families ignore the "one family, one child" principle for the same reason. Married couples would rather pay a fine and forfeit certain privileges than deny themselves the blessing of having more children than one. As a result, 23 million babies are expected to be born in China before this year is out.

"If we abandon the restrictions imposed on the rates of population growth," Li Peng, Vice-Premier of the P.R.C. State Council, a member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, told an international demographic symposium in Peking on July 1, 1987, "we shall have great difficulties keeping the population supplied with clothes, food, housing, means of transport, and promoting scientific and cultural progress."

While on a recent visit in the P.R.C., I talked with many ordinary people to find out what they thought of the family planning policy. Their answers provided rather a motley picture. Communists, and Komsomol and government workers I interviewed supported the restrictions and set an example to others in this respect. A certain proportion of the population remains true to tradition, but does not condemn family planning in the open.

A family residing near Shanghai asked me around for a chat. My hospitable hostess, the mother of three sons, made no secret of her desire to have many grandchildren. Nor was she alone in nursing this dream.

In the meantime, uncontrolled population growth creates - among other problems - unemployment.

Unemployment was eliminated in the country shortly after the formation of the P.R.C. Before the "cultural revolution" there were practically no jobless either in the town, or the countryside. Towards the end of the seventies, however, millions found themselves out of work. Economic reforms, launched in 1979, took the edge off the unemployment problem. Nevertheless, people do lose jobs here and there in the course of the reform. From ten to twelve million able-bodied young people appeared on the country's labour market annually, but not all of them were able to find employment - largely because of recurrent demographic explosions.

## How to remove unemployment

Chinese leaders and scientists answer in the affirmative, as a rule, the question of whether it is possible to remove unemployment. Extensive propaganda for various means of birth control is accompanied by a stepped-up campaign to dissuade every married couple from having a second baby. Besides, every measure is, of course, being taken, to keep the work force busy. Many new labour-intensive plants are on the drawing boards or under construction; local job opportunities are being publicized and ways to secure more contracts for the employment of Chinese work force abroad are being sought.

Definite hopes are being pinned on the urbanization of the country. Many jobs will be offered by small and medium-sized businesses in the countryside and in urban-type settlements.

Over the years of my stay in the P.R.C. I was able to visit big cities with populations running into millions, including those situated in southern and southeastern provinces. Those warm regions are indeed overpopulated. On the other hand, there are provinces in China with favourable, albeit cooler, climates where population density does not exceed averages for other countries. Consequently, a more uniform population and job distribution pattern would go a long way towards solving the demographic problem.

Chinese experts are fully aware of this.

The P.R.C. leadership is confident that the demographic problem will be solved in the long run. Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the P.R.C. State Council, and acting General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said that given strict adherence to the relevant policy line, the country would be able to keep its total population at the one billion 200 million level towards the end of the current century. Efforts are being made in the republic to quadruple industrial and farm produce output by the year 2000. This should make for an impressive rise in living standards.

**MIKHAIL YAKOVLEV**

Peking - Moscow

# "The report of my death was an exaggeration"

## Vitaly Yurchenko interviewed again two years later

I first saw this man at a press conference in Moscow two years ago. He was telling journalists about what he had gone through in the United States. At the time it seemed that the "Yurchenko affair" was at an end. But recently some Western publications have carried reports with allegations of what the "KGB has done to the defector who rashly returned...."

This time I met Vitaly Yurchenko at his home. In answer to my request to comment on reports about his "fatal" end, he replied: "As you see, I am alive and well. As for the publications, they are a standard stock-in-trade when the truth is withheld and falsehoods are circulated. There was somebody behind the scenes then, who put a muzzle even on such a respected publication as Time magazine, and it would not carry the interview I gave its correspondent late last year in which I told him about my life and plans for the future."

**Then let us start with just that. What are you doing now?**

The first six months following my return I spent in hospital and at a sanatorium. The doctors were putting me right. The psychotropic drugs the CIA had "fed" me with, had crippled my health. In March last year I began to work. As before, I am with the Foreign Ministry department dealing with the security of Soviet missions abroad.

### Background information

**Psychotropic drugs, better known as hallucinogens, are medical preparations containing a high proportion of narcotic elements that stimulate in the human mind various aural or visual images reflecting wishes and obsessions, or on the contrary, depressing the psyche and compelling it to obey commands from the outside, or instilling sensations of fear and insecurity that bring about a condition of deep depression.**

* * *

**Are you going to work abroad again?**

Not yet. First, the doctors are not advising it. Secondly, some other trick cannot be ruled out. As a result of my escape some people were disgraced there. In the CIA they do not forget such things.

**How do you feel in retrospect about what happened to you two years ago?**

In 1985, I was a victim, or to be more exact, one of the victims of the CIA-mounted series of operations in abducting Soviet citizens. Judge for yourself. In the spring and summer of the same year several other people disappeared. In Athens it was first secretary at the Soviet embassy Sergei Bokhan, and in Madrid Vladimir Alexandrov, the prominent Soviet scientist, a specialist in the "nuclear winter." Isn't that too many to be "chance incidents."

### From our file

**1976. During the Montreal Olympic Games, CIA agents tried to abduct a member of the Soviet team Sergei Nemtsanov.**

**1979. Soviet citizen Leonid Panchenko, a worker in the Secretariat of the International Cocoa Organization, was killed in Switzerland under mysterious circumstances.**

**1982. Diplomat V. Kuzichkin disappeared in Iran.**

**1983. Journalist Oleg Bitov was kidnapped from his hotel room in Venice. He was also doped but managed to return home.**

**1983. Diplomat L. Bogaty with his wife and two children disappeared in Morocco. Late in 1984 the Americans admitted that he was in the United States.**

**1983. Two Soviet soldiers, Igor Rykov and Oleg Khlan, were captured by the dushmans in Afghanistan and transferred to Pakistan and thence to England. They were worked on with the use of narcotics.**

**1984. Leonid Kutergin, who worked for the U.S.S.R. Chamber of Commerce and Industry, disappeared in Switzerland. After several months of inquiries the Soviet side was informed that "for some time" Kutergin had been in the F.R.G. but that later he had left the country. The all-powerful West German police failed to find "a forwarding address" for the Soviet citizen.**

**1984. Vadim Ivanov, head of the TASS office, disappeared in Vienna.**

**1985. V. Ivanov, who worked for the foreign trade association Soyuzkhimexport, disappeared in the Philippines. Yet a month later he was allowed to see Soviet representatives in the F.R.G., and at the meeting he declared his desire to return home.**

**But the last example may be classified as atypical. Even if Western governments concede that the missing Soviet citizens are in their territory they will not allow Soviet representatives to meet them.**

* * *

**Do you think that everyone who finds himself in the hands of the CIA undergo treatment with psychotomimetic drugs?**

**Vitaly Yurchenko with his grandson in Moscow, 1987.**

CIA members alone can give a precise answer to this question. But all who had the good fortune to get away say that they were given drugs during interrogations at secret service offices.... My case also bears this out. Incidentally, when I worked at the Soviet embassy in the U.S. I came on John Marks's book, a bestseller at the time, entitled "On search for the 'Manchurian Candidate': the CIA and Mind Control." Based on thousands of documents as well as on conversations with former American secret agents and scientists, the book gives a picture of the large-scale research on the control of human psyche carried out in the United States since World War II.

### From our file

**The phrase "Manchurian Candidate" became current in 1959 after the publication of Richard Condon's novel of the same name describing a special centre in Manchuria where they treated an American soldier, a prisoner of war, with certain drugs to convert him into a remote-control killer.**

* * *

**I feel you are addressing yourself to the matter in earnest...**

Yes, I wanted to probe deeper into all this. And when I started to study the problem I became sure that I had been one of the many meant for "the Manchurian Candidate."

**Do you suggest that you are working on a book?...**

I am still collecting material, and the future will show what will come of it.

## Background information

**In Dachau concentration camp SS doctors and the Gestapo experimented on prisoners with mescaline. The "research" was headed by Doctor Kurt Plötner. The aim of the experiments as formulated by one of the camp medical staff was "to subjugate the will of those experimented on."**

**During World War II, under the supervision of American intelligence's Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the CIA's predecessor, a group headed by Doctor Winfred Overholser, Director of the St. Elizabeth Hospital in Washington, carried out its work in the U.S. The object of its research was to find "the truth drug," that had the effect of compelling interrogees to tell the truth. The first "field" test of the drug produced took place on May 27, 1943. New York gangster August Del Garcio was chosen as a guinea pig, invited under the pretext of mafia collaboration talks by captain George White, an OSS member, who before the war had worked for the Federal Narcotics Bureau. They also used for the purpose guards who were suspected of "sympathizing with communism."**

. . .

**It is claimed in the West that psychotomimetic drugs have been out of use for as long as ten years.**

Out of use? Well, let us turn to facts. Besides myself, several other Soviet citizens said that they were treated with psychotomimetic drugs during questioning by secret services in Western countries. Bitov and Ivanov, for that matter.

The influential Indian weekly Blitz reported in December 1984 that CIA people drugged dushmans when preparing them for especially important terrorist acts in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The aim was to weaken the bandits' instinct for self-preservation, and at the same time to stimulate their aggressivity.

And recall the éxposé in the Turkish press in the summer of 1985 related to the affair of the U.S. citizen, Turkish-born Turan Itil, who carried out CIA-sponsored experiments with psychotomimetic drugs on a hundred people or so who had no idea whatever that they were guinea pigs in the hands of this Aesculapius.

**But these stories appeared in the press in Turkey, Poland, and India, while since the late 1970s, the American press has been quiet about CIA or FBI activities as regards their manipulations with drugs. Even after your exposure this topic was virtually ignored in the U.S. media....**

The White House has always tried to black out the activities of its special services, including the CIA. This has been especially the case during the Reagan administration, which has managed to enact laws providing severe punishments both for journalists who make public classified information on "the backstairs" activities of American intelligence.

But something still finds its way into the press. For example, after my escape, the CIA was given "a shake-up," so to speak. Langley worked out more strict procedures for questioning, handling and guarding citizens of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries caught by them. Very few people outside the agency will know anything of a person who falls into the hands of the CIA.

**Now about CIA abductions of Soviet people and citizens of other socialist countries. What do they do it for? Thousands of people, hundreds of families emigrate every year from the U.S.S.R. Some of them leave for the United States....**

First, most emigrants are medical workers, people in trade and the services, some intellectuals.... In a word, people who have nothing to do with state, diplomatic, defence and other secrets. They are of no great interest to foreign intelligence services. But the people kidnapped include a scientist working on problems related to the consequences of nuclear war, employees of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry for Foreign Trade, servicemen, journalists.... Here, all the trouble they take may pay off.

**And so, the abduction is followed by treatment....**

Yes. The victim is brought in a hazy condition to a secret place. They dope him with drugs, interrogate him. Sometimes it lasts for a very long period of time, sometimes it is a matter of a few hours. Then they leave him alone for a time (continuing to keep him under observation). They let him come round a little. Then they start coaxing him, promising alluring prospects. If you don't say yes, it starts all over again. Here, they put it to you that everyone at home has given you up, and that for all in the U.S.S.R. you are a traitor. They try to convince you that under the effect of drugs you "have divulged" important state secrets. At the same time, the press prints information "leaks" provided by some CIA veteran or "inside" journalist that such and such has asked for political asylum in the United States or Britain....

Then the drugged man is given some anti-Soviet concoction to sign, and if he wouldn't, they simply forge his signature....

**But what if in this situation the man does not give in, demands to see Soviet representatives, and threatens to expose his tormentors!...**

I think they could kill him or drive him mad. They call it turning him into "a vegetable." For example, I was told of a Pole who displayed "unnecessary stubbornness and obstinacy." He was made "a vegetable" and is now in a CIA mental hospital permanently.

## From our file

**April 1979. The Swiss newspaper Aargauer Tagblatt wrote: "Mysterious suicide of 32-year-old Russian diplomat. The reasons for the suicide are likely to remain secret forever." The newspaper was featuring the so-called Panchenko affair.**

**On April 1, 1979, Leonid Panchenko, Soviet representative working at the Secretariat of the International Cocoa Organization, arrived in Switzerland from London to take part in a session of this organization.**

**"Incident" 1: The Soviet representative did not attend any of the meetings held from April 2 to April 6. None of the sponsors "paid any attention to it." On April 7, the deputy manager of the hotel where the Soviet diplomat was staying broke open the door of his room because, the manager alleged, "water was running from under the door." They found Panchenko's body in the bathroom.**

**"Incident" 2: The police report says that first, the water tap was off and secondly, the bath tub, where the body was found, was half-empty. The latter is also shown in police photographs.**

**The examination of the dead body and the autopsy (carried out before the arrival of the Soviet representatives!) established several deep razor-blade cuts. The authorities qualified it as suicide.**

**"Incident" 3: The razor blade Panchenko used "to commit suicide" was never found. Among his personal belongings they discovered the electric razor he had used for some years.**

**From the record of the autopsy carried out on April 17, 1979, in Moscow by a group of Soviet specialists in forensic medicine: "The brain and other internal organs are missing..."**

**The experts discovered the drug LSD in the body tissue.**

**It was murder. A series of "incidents" and the opinion of the specialists in forensic medicine confirm it beyond doubt.**

* * *

**One more question then. The American press often uses the word "defector." It is, as a rule, applied to those Soviet citizens about whom we do not know anything. Who are these people! Defectors, CIA victims!...**

Myself and many other Soviet citizens who have managed to get out of the clutches of the special services were branded as defectors. That we do not hear from the Soviet citizens who have disappeared means that they must have been hidden and are being handled by secret services. Some may no longer be alive or have been driven into a condition in which they cannot be regarded as normal, that is, they have been made into "vegetables." It is very difficult to break out of the CIA's "embrace."

At the same time, my experience shows that it is possible. And proceeding from it I know that through government and diplomatic channels the Soviet side is doing all it can to find those Soviet citizens who have disappeared and to help them return home.

**IGOR VASILYEV**

# IN MEMORY OF THE GRAND MASTER

**On October 1, the 21st chess tournament in memory of Mikhail Chigorin started in Sochi as part of the chess festival named The Russia. New Times prizes have been established for foreign participants in the contest.**

A hundred years ago this autumn, chess lovers the world over had their breath taken away by the first ever game of chess between St. Petersburg and London played over a telegraph line. The game ended with the triumph of "the Northern bears," and chess history was enriched by the name made for himself by Mikhail Chigorin who played on behalf of the St. Petersburg's chess masters almost single-handed. He had in store brilliant wins at important international tournaments in Vienna and Nuremberg, Hannover and Monte Carlo, games dramatic in tension and outcome, with the finest masters of the time, Gunsberg, Siegbert Tarrasch, Wilhelm Steinitz, Emanuel Lasker...

Chigorin never became a world champion, but he was a true pioneer of Russian chess. His creative legacy inspired whole generations of chess players, and the grace of his game and the beauty of his enchanting combinations sparked off the further development of chess thought, to which world champions Steiniz and Lasker justly pointed at the close of the last century.

The impact of Chigorin's ideas was so great that a year after his death, in 1909, an international chess congress was held in his memory, an unprecedented honour at the time. Note that the money for the tournament was collected by subscription, and among those who contributed to the holding of memorial games were such great figures in Russian cultural life as Sergei Prokofyev, Nicholas Roerich, Fyodor Shalyapin and others.

The first tournament in memory of Mikhail Chigorin in Soviet times took place forty years ago, in 1947. The winner of the contest was our outstanding grand master, Mikhail Botvinnik, who a year later won the title of world champion. Since 1963, international tournaments in memory of Mikhail Chigorin have been traditional with a permanent venue in the resort town of Sochi, and for the past seven years they have been part of the grand chess festival known as The Russia. Now, along with the Chigorin games, the festival in Sochi includes an important international women's tournament, as well as mass contests, simultaneous displays, chess problem contests and exercises in which residents of Sochi and holidaymakers can take part.

The present chess festival will attract additional interest as, for the first time ever, along with the contest's results, purely creative achievement will be also taken into account.

Mindful of this, the editorial board of New Times has established special prizes for the foreign participants with the best creative achievements. The editorial office of the newspaper Sovetskaya Rossia is offering the similar prizes for Soviet chess players.

That lovers of the ancient game should appreciate above all its beauty and regard chess as art, is exactly what Mikhail Chigorin dreamed of.

**LEONID ABALKIN**
**Corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Chairman of the All-Russia Chess Federation**

Clowns.

# On tour in West Africa

**The Circus on the Stage company from the U.S.S.R. is to appear in Benin, Togo, Ghana, Niger and Côte d'Ivoire.**

On October 13, the company of 25 artistes will open their tour of West Africa with a performance in Kotonu.

Clowns Yuri Suchkov and Alexander Kornilov parody all circus genres. Their act includes a succession of humorous sketches.

First-class jugglers Galina and Alexander Prusakov give a high-spirited performance.

The Vladimir Konoplev and Vladimir Antonov strong-man duo is in the classical acrobatic tradition. Vladimir Konoplev also performs with Igor Vasin and Tatyana Nazimko in their very successful display of vaulting acrobatics.

Leonid Strelba and Eduard Shmidt play the parts of two jolly yokels from a Ukrainian village in the Carpathians. Their sketch, entitled "Woodcutters," is full of national colour.

Balancing on a sagging wire 10 millimetres in diametre, Valery Chitavin performs unbelievable stunts.

Judging from the press reviews in African countries where the Soviet circus performers have already made their appearance, the forthcoming tour of Benin, Togo, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire and Niger is likely to prove very successful.

The Soviet Union now maintains cultural links with 30 African countries, organizing exhibitions and sending specialists to share its cultural experience. African performers have appeared in the Soviet Union, among them the Togo national ballet and groups from Mali and Ethiopia. We have also seen exhibitions from Zimbabwe, Ghana and Burkina Faso....

**VLADIMIR BENYUKH**

# The pain of recognition

The exhibition "Do the Russians want war?", arranged by the Soviet Peace Committee, is the first ever series of portraits of disabled war veterans, the work of artist Gennady Dobrov. Last year Dobrov was for the first time able to display twenty-three of his drawings in the House of Artists. They came as a revelation to critics and painters. Dobrov had repeatedly applied in vain for permission to exhibit. Responsible commissions had been shocked. "This is too much. The truth about the war can be told in another, milder form. You are a sadist!"

Thirty-six pictures of the series were exhibited. They depict people mutilated and maimed by war. All of them have real prototypes whom the artist found in homes for the disabled across the country. Dobrov's purpose was to show the war as it really was. His pictures destroy the monumental image of the handsome and Herculean victorious soldier, immune to bayonets and bullets. Some other painters have also recreated the tragedy of the war extremely authentically, but the impact of even the grimmest of their pictures, for all their corpse-littered battlefields, cannot compare with these faces of the mutilated men who survived.

**"A veteran fighting man."(1975).**

Dobrov's characters are physical ruins, and their lives are agony, but they are alive and want to stay alive, to be of use to others and enjoy themselves as best they can. The picture "Writing a letter to a fellow soldier"shows a fighting man holding a pen with his toes. He has lost both hands, but life is not over for him. His face is serene, bearing no expression of morbid malice or resentment; it is only the terrible tautness of his body that indicates the superhuman effort the simplest movements cost him.

The picture "Returning from a walk" shows a woman who lost her legs and her sight in the war. This haggard woman, exhausted by illness, has a bouquet of fresh field flowers attacked to her belt: her heart has not yet grown cold to beauty, which she cannot even see but can only feel and smell.

Dobrov depicts strength of will, tenacity of life, patience, and beauty, and asks the question that torments him: "Why do these courageous people have to suffer?"

Gennady Dobrov did not see action in the war - he was born in 1937. His father had gone to the Finnish war and, before he could be reunited with his family, found himself in the crucible of the Great Patriotic War (1941-45). Dobrov's mother was left alone with her children, three of whom died of hunger and disease, with only Gennady surviving. In those hard years the future artist knew much sorrow; he suffered from hunger and privations and saw the deaths of those he loved. The war left a wound in his heart that would never heal. He played with children who had gone through a living hell, many of them crippled. They played war games in which vicariously avenged the deaths of their parents, brothers and sisters, and their ruined childhood. Maimed soldiers returned from the front. Their faces were not to be forgotten.

Later Gennady went to art school in Moscow, and thence to the Surikov Institute, studying hard. After graduation he could not find work after his own heart, and spent years looking for a place to live and a job. He changed occupations many times working as draftsman, stage hand and hospital orderly. He saw many people suffer, took their pain to heart, and continued drawing from day to day. It was then that he finally found the subject that was to dominate his work.

Spectators' reactions to his pictures differ. Younger people are horrified, the old feel the agony of recognition, and foreign visitors, of whom the exhibition has attracted quite a few, show interest and surprise.

**ANNA SMIRNOVA**

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## FROM THE VISITORS' BOOK:

"It is the war, not the truth about the war, that ought to be feared. This is weird and bitter truth but the truth nevertheless, rather than a sweet lie. We should not turn a blind eye to the truth if we want to remain human beings. The Dobrov exhibition must, simply must, be open to the general public."

**Mikhail Ulyanov**

"Thank you very much for your pictures, for your work. We have read many books and saw films about the war, but we did not know about the horrors of war."

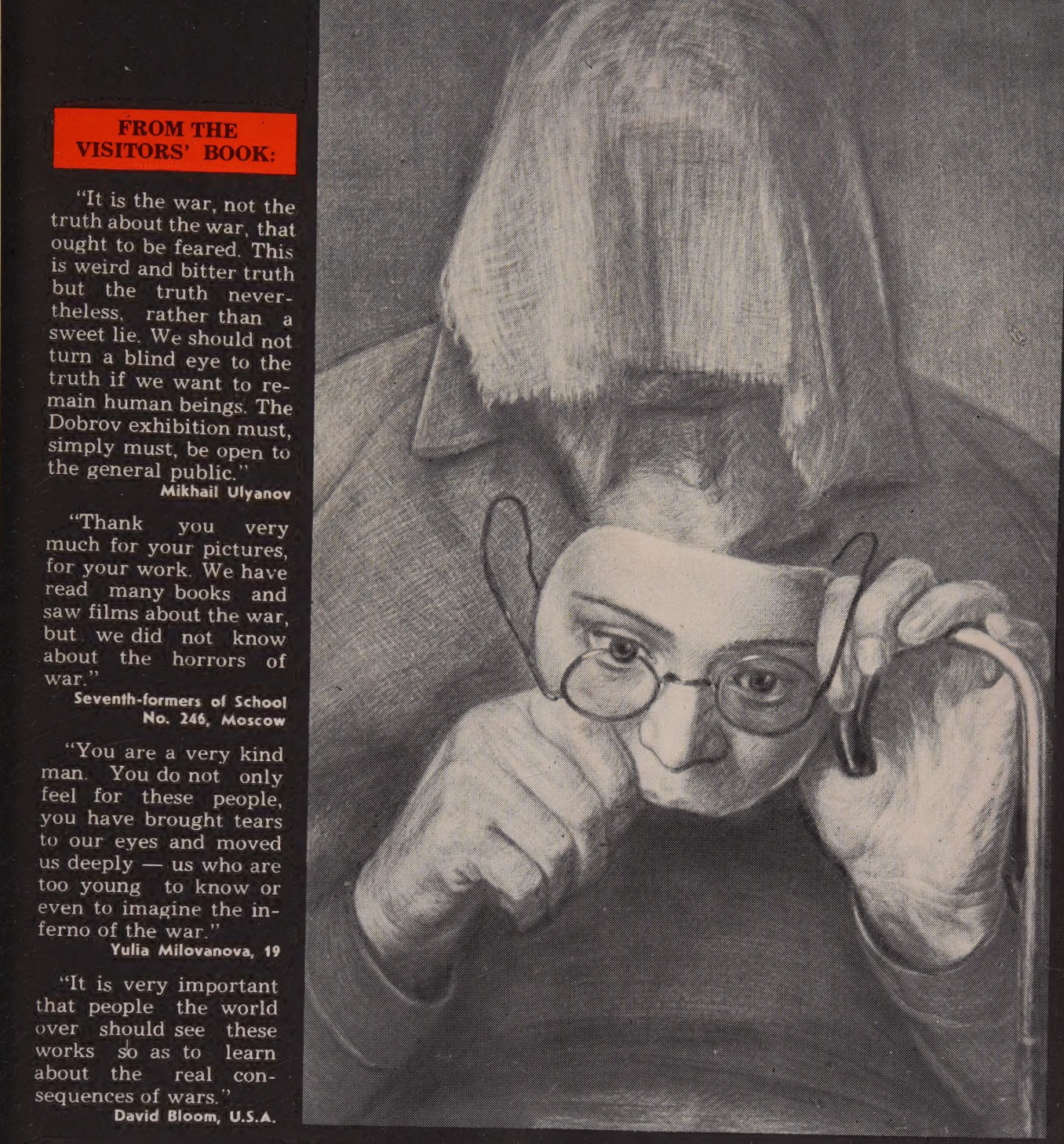
**Seventh-formers of School No. 246, Moscow**

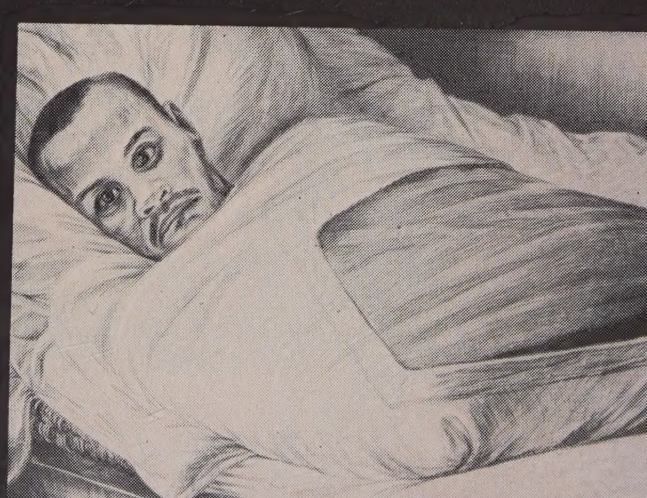
"You are a very kind man. You do not only feel for these people, you have brought tears to our eyes and moved us deeply — us who are too young to know or even to imagine the inferno of the war."

**Yulia Milovanova, 19**

"It is very important that people the world over should see these works so as to learn about the real consequences of wars."

**David Bloom, U.S.A.**



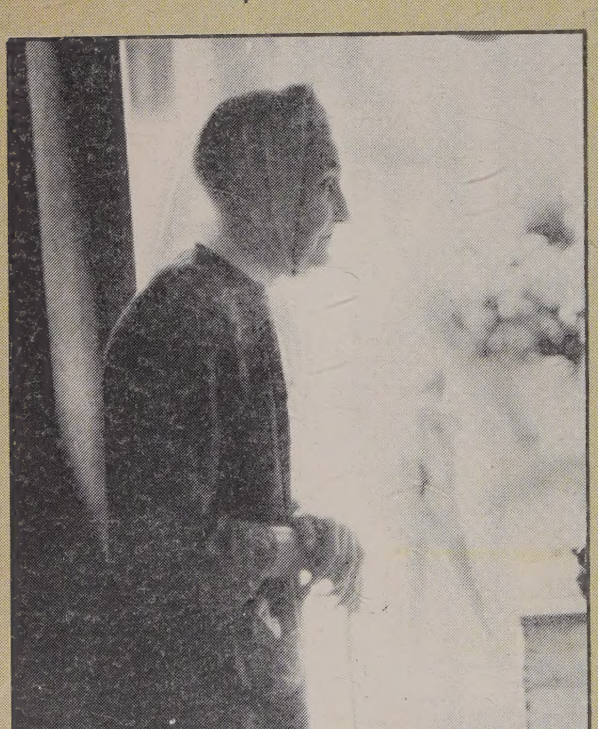


**The portrait of a woman with her face burnt. 1979**

**Writing a letter to a brother soldier. 1977**

**An unknown soldier. 1974**

A quarrel.



INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

# MAN AND MANKIND

## Andrius Zigavicius (U.S.S.R.)

Nostalgia.

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫК